Identity Matters: An Exploratory, Mixed Methods Case Study to Examine the Influence of Athlete and Student Identity Salience on the Giving Patterns of Student-Athletes at a Highly Selective Midwestern Private University

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation consists of an interpretive, bounded case study conducted at the University of Chicago, a selective private research institution with a Division III athletics program. At selective institutions, alumni-athletes represent a crucial fundraising source for the athletics department. Research suggests that the level of identity to one's undergraduate alma mater correlates highly with the likelihood of giving. However, little is known about how the identity make up of these unique student-athletes influences their giving patterns. Using a mixed method, qualitative-dominant approach, the researcher sought to explore how and to what extent identity salience to dual roles as student and athlete influenced University of Chicago alumni-athletes' philanthropic behavior towards their alma maters' athletics department. Though no definitive connections were made between identity salience and giving designations, the student-athlete identity formation process remains unique at selective institutions and, in some fashion, influences giving behavior. As the reliance on private philanthropy has increased at selective institutions, particularly in their athletics departments, it is imperative that administrators from the academy, the athletics department, and the development office collaborate to create a campus environment that is most conducive to maximizing alumni-athlete philanthropy. Institutional recommendations and suggested areas of scholarly inquiry are aimed at selective institutions, where the athletics program philosophically operates as any other extracurricular activity yet has unique challenges that merit specific support.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I started my doctoral degree in the fall of 2012. After completing my comprehensive exams in 2014, I became a part-time doctoral student when I accepted a full-time job at my alma mater, the University of Chicago. I took the position when my wife became pregnant with our second child, and despite several warnings from family and friends alike, I chose to intentionally "finish on the side." While admittedly a cliché statement that all doctoral students have inevitably felt at one time or another, I truly never thought I would finish, especially since I was now both a full-time employee and a full-time parent. On one hand, there will always be a part of me that wishes I would have stayed in Lawrence to finish my degree before endeavoring to kick-start my professional career. On the other hand, finishing a doctoral degree while going through the rewards and difficulties of everyday life has taught me a great deal about dealing with success and failure, the importance of embracing routine, how to deal with stress and maintain one's perspective, and that, above all, there are two traits that matter most: determination and grit. I am grateful that these experiences, and the learned skills that have accompanied them, will serve me for the rest of my life.

Since I started this journey in 2012, I have had four different jobs, bought and sold three different houses, torn an Achilles tendon (twice), and have welcomed three additional children in our family, one of whom died in front of us in 2016. One does not make it through a journey like mine without significant amounts of both personal and professional guidance.

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somehow maintained your own professional career, and put up with my constant fretting and anxiety about finishing. I am unfamiliar with life as a married man *not* in graduate school, and there is no one I would rather start this journey with than you.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

To protect the anonymity of this study's interview participants—but also to be as descriptive as possible—direct quotations from them contain their data segment, sport(s) played, graduation year, and gender.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

As federal and state financial support for higher education has decreased, institutions of higher education have come increasingly rely on private donors to bolster flagging revenues (Galuszka, 2008; Stinson & Howard, 2007). Intercollegiate athletic departments have likewise turned to boosters and alumni for contributions (Stinson & Howard, 2004). National attention on fundraising for athletics tends to focus on prominent and highly visible NCAA Division I level universities with prominent athletic departments (Comeaux & Harrison, 2011; Gayles & Hu, 2009a, 2009b; Howard-Hamilton & Sina, 2001; Lawrence, Ott, & Hendricks, 2009; Miller & Kerr, 2002; Ting, 2009). However, the athletic budgets at selective institutions—typically with lower profile athletic departments—are exposed to similar budget pressure and increasingly rely on external funding. Little research in this area has been performed on less visible or non-Division I institutions. Therefore, this study will focus on athletic departments at selective institutions. Many of these institutions either reside in the Ivy League Conference or are members of NCAA Division III and typically share many similarities in their approach to athletics (Bowen & Shulman, 2001).

While external fundraising is acknowledged as an important source of revenue for athletic departments at all NCAA division levels, the sources and motivations for such gifts vary by institution type. Donations come to highly visible NCAA Division I institutions from alumni but contributions also come from boosters and corporate sponsors. Ko, Rhee, Walker, and Lee (2014) cited motivations for contributing to a Division I institution's athletic department, as vicarious achievement, affiliation, interaction, power, public recognition, and receipt of tangible benefits like season tickets and priority parking.

In contrast to high dollar donations received by Division I institutions from corporate sponsors, a percentage of non-tuition support comes to academically selective institutions' athletics departments from alumni who participated in athletics as part of their higher education experience (Wunnava & Lauze, 2001). Moreover, those that support athletics at Ivy League institutions have been cited as doing so because they agree "with the stated departmental goals of encouraging participation, and emphasizing the educatory values associated with athletics" (Covell, 2005, p. 23). Similarly, at the Division III level, these patterns of philanthropic support imply endorsement of the student athlete philosophy found at selective institutions (Plinske, 2000).

The approach to athletics at selective institutions is unique, regardless of the type of NCAA membership. For example, athletics in the Ivy League seek, "to exist as the Division I antidote to the real and perceived estrangement between athletics and academics in higher education" (Covell, 2005, p. 16). The primary emphasis of NCAA Division III athletics is participation, with the goal of "…maximizing the number and variety of athletic sports available to students having an emphasis on regional competition" (Morris, 2009, p. 128). Selective institution athletic teams provide entertainment that serves local audiences and do not provide athletic scholarships or any other types of merit-based financial aid to athletes (Emerson, Brooks, & McKenzie, 2009; Morris, 2009; Suggs, 2003). This practice is likely to continue, as a recent NCAA administered survey of Division III presidents found that 96% were in favor of prohibiting athletic scholarships (Plinske, 2000). In conformance with that educational and philosophical perception—and in marked contrast to their Division I counterparts—neither Ivy League nor Division III sports are intended to produce revenue. Division III athletic departments

are treated like every other organizational department within a college or university, including the way they compete for university budget allocation (Bowen & Shulman, 2001; Morris, 2009).

It is germane to document that in past studies, as an endorsement of the ideology of participation, donations from selective institution alumni-athletes exceed donations from non-athlete alumni (Holmes, Meditz, & Sommers, 2008; Monks, 2003). In fact, donations from alumni-athletes invariably represent a critical part of selective institution athletic fundraising. Holmes et al. (2008) found that at highly selective liberal arts colleges, donations from alumni-athletes often account for the largest part of the athletic department's revenue budget. Bowen and Shulman (2001) documented that alumni-athletes were more likely to support athletic initiatives rather than donate to the university for general purposes.

At selective institutions, because the athletic department's budget is part of the institution's overall budget, it is incumbent that these institutions focus on alumni motivation for giving because alumni donations ultimately fund athletic programming. Selective institution alumni-athlete generosity stands in contrast to the experience at many Division I institutions with highly visible athletic departments, where alumni-athletes often do not support their alma mater's athletic departments (O'Neill & Schenke, 2007). Contrary to selective alumni-athletes' perception of participation as a reward, Division I student-athletes often perceive the opposite. They feel as if their athletic participation fulfilled their obligation to "give back" and recall feeling alienated from the rest of the student body during their time of participation (O'Neill & Schenke, 2007). This research help inform the study at present because the level of internal identification with one's alma mater influences subsequent giving behavior.

One lens used to examine giving behavior has been identity salience (Arnett, German, & Hunt, 2003; Lee, Piliavin, & Call, 1999). Tsiotsou (2007) noted "donors (alumni and non-

alumni) make contributions because they identify themselves with the institution (identity salience) and aim at keeping their bonds or building relationships…" (p. 86). Most research on alumni-athlete fundraising has focused on Division I institutions with major athletics programs, yet alumni-athletes from selective institutions deserve examination as well.

Athletes at academically selective institutions are required to balance their student and athlete identities. As a result salience to one identity does not necessarily come at the expense of the other identity (Killeya-Jones, 2005). One the other hand, in prominent Division I athletic departments, participation is not conducive to self-exploration and student-athletes are generally not given the opportunity to maintain dual identities (Comeaux & Harrison, 2011). Moreover, their student identity and athlete identity compete with each other (Yukhymenko–Lescroart, 2014). Division I student-athletes in major athletic departments are often isolated from the rest of campus and their participation structure usually dictates a pattern of "athlete-only" lifestyle (Comeaux & Harrison, 2011; Eitzen, 1987; Ting, 2009). However, athletes at selective institutions are more likely to identify as both a student and as an athlete *and* to have a harmonious relationship between these identities (Yopyk & Prentice, 2005). For example, both Ivy League and Division III student-athletes are better integrated into the campus community than scholarship Division I student-athletes because they inherently embody both student and athlete roles (Aries, McCarthy, Salovey, & Banaji, 2004; Killeya-Jones, 2005). Additionally, these student-athletes place importance on goals outside of athletics, are encouraged to seek out other opportunities for campus engagement, participate in non-athletic extracurricular activities, have higher engagement with non-athletes, and enjoy greater success pursuing non-academic interests (Aries et al., 2004; Emerson et al., 2009; Gabert, Hale, & Montalvo Jr, 1999; Gayles & Hu, 2009a, 2009b; Morris, 2009). For example, Division III student-athletes put greater

emphasis on scholastic endeavors than their scholarship Division I counterparts and rely more heavily on academics for future careers than scholarship Division I student-athletes (Griffith & Johnson, 2002). In summary, athletes at academically selective institutions benefit from greater support and opportunity to identify as both student and athlete, as opposed to solely as athlete.

Identity theory would posit that the comprehensive institutional identity of a student-athlete at a selective institution is unique, insofar as they are required to maintain dual student and athlete roles. Given that identity salience levels influence donor behavior, it is important to examine these variables, as they effect alumni-athletes' support of their alma maters' athletic department. To date, most research related to student-athlete giving has focused on high profile Division I alumni-athlete donors. Such attention is likely the result of the visibility and revenue that major Division I athletics bring. That research may be instructive, but it is not likely to be predictive or generalizable to the situation of student-athletes at selective institutions, given the significant differences between the types of student-athletes that participate at these institutions. In recognition of the importance of alumni-athlete fundraising at selective institutions, discovery of donor characteristics and motivations for giving are critical.

Personal Background and Justification for Study

In addition to filling a gap in the literature, I was also motivated to perform this study based on my own educational and professional experiences. I was recruited to be a student-athlete at the University of Chicago and was a member of its men's basketball team from 2003-2007. My experience as a student-athlete at a highly selective institution with a Division III athletics program was the catalyst for studying how the student-athlete identity formation process at selective institutions influenced subsequent alumni giving. After graduation, I worked in college athletics at two Power 5 conference public institutions with highly visible, Division I

athletic programs. I saw firsthand the difference between my student-athlete experience and that of student-athletes at these institutions. Both during and after my playing tenure, I realize how unique the student-athlete experience was at a selective institution.

My teammates and I never had any tutoring available for student-athletes and never received any sort of preferential treatment for being a varsity athlete. If anything, many of us felt that life was *more difficult* as the result of our varsity athletic participation. The cafeteria often closed prior to the end of practice so we had to find dinner elsewhere. We often spoke of the trepidation during the first day of class when, at the conclusion of class, we had to catch the professor and let him or her know of the days we would be missing class due to athletic related travel. I also have vivid memories of doing our required workouts in the fitness center while fellow members of campus—undergraduate, graduate, and faculty members—looked on in observation because we did not have a singular athletic fitness facility.

It was considered normal to miss a day of practice for lab or a review session. It was commonplace to bring your books on the road; in order to keep up with the coursework, I read on airplanes, wrote papers on buses, and made exam notes in hotel rooms prior to games. A few teammates even missed games for important job interviews. Rather than train over the summer, we went home or traveled remotely for internship opportunities.

Despite some of these challenges, most of us—if not all of us—greatly cherished our time as University of Chicago student-athletes and knew how fortunate we were. We had total freedom to pursue our own course. Many of us deepened our identity as students while still getting the wonderful opportunity to be a varsity athlete. For me, those four years were the most challenging yet most rewarding years of my life, so much so that they led me to a career in higher education.

I entered the field of higher education advancement in 2015 at the University of Chicago and conducted relationship-building and solicitation meeting with several alumni-athletes. One of the most important tenets of effective fundraising is listening, and during these visits with alumni-athletes, I heard their stories and reflections about their own student-athlete experiences. I listened to their perceptions of these experiences and how they influenced not only their giving behavior, but also the unit designation of their gifts. Why did some choose to give and others not? Why did some only give to the academy and others only to athletics? Why did alumni-athletes that graduated in the 1980s and 1990s have such different perceptions and stories than those that graduated in the 2000s? Why were there such varying views of the University of Chicago and how the institution viewed and treated its own athletic department? Why did so many alumni-athletes tell me they wished there was better coordination between athletics and the development office? These questions provided the foundation for this study. As I considered these questions, I began to ponder how the unique student-athlete identity formation process at selective institutions ultimately influenced philanthropic behavior. I also considered how selective schools might raise more money for athletics, given the inherently high levels of *student* identities in their athletes. Moreover, I pondered how alumni-athletes would prefer to be approached by the development office. Should the development office approach them with athletic giving priorities or academic priorities? Should they be assigned to the athletics fundraising staff or the academy fundraising staff? How would this process work at schools that do not have the budget for athletics fundraising staff?

These questions stayed with me when I accepted a Director of Development position at the University of Notre Dame. In this role, not only have I work closely with the athletics advancement team but also with several Notre Dame alumni-athletes. I developed meaningful

and sustainable relationships with them and gleaned insights into their philanthropic passions. I asked them about their student-athlete experience at a selective institution and how it influenced their giving. Taken together, these experiences gave me the conviction that this was an area ripe for research, but not just for the sake of scholarly endeavor.

It bears mentioning that the University of Chicago is unique insofar as it does not resemble a typical Division III institution. Most Division III institutions do not feature a 7% acceptance rate nor feature a strong graduate program with over 10,000 students. In addition, most Division III institutions do not operate a $7 billion endowment. At Division III institutions, on average student-athletes represent about 25% of the student body whereas at the University of Chicago, that figure is only 10%. In general then, the University of Chicago more closely resembles other academically elite institutions, many of which maintain membership in the NCAA's Division I classification.

The implications of this study might provide selective institutions—which typically feature existing high levels of alumni engagement as is—ideas for increasing giving to athletics. It might also provide insights into how advancement officers approach alumni-athletes from selective institutions. Finally, it might provide administrators and athletic directors insights into how to construct a student-athlete experience that not only aligns with the institutions' views and philosophies on athletics, but also that most effectively secures future gifts from alumni-athletes.

Problem Statement

At selective institutions, the funds to operate an athletic department come from both university budget allocation and philanthropy. Alumni-athletes from selective institutions not only have historically provided substantial revenue—in the form of giving—to their former athletic departments, but these athletes also respond more positively than other Division I

scholarship alumni when solicited for gifts, especially for gifts to their alma mater's athletic departments (Holmes et al., 2008). Thus, the margin for excellence for these athletic departments could be determined by how successfully they cultivate their former athletes. For athletic departments to sustain themselves—and ultimately flourish—they need to successfully fundraise from alumni-athletes.

Monks (2003) indicated that little is known about the giving motivations for alumni of selective institutions in general. Even less is known about what motivates *student-athlete* alumni to support their former athletic departments, particularly at the Division III level (O'Neill & Schenke, 2007; Shapiro, Giannoulakis, Drayer, & Wang, 2010). Bearing in mind the increased reliance on philanthropy at academically selective institutions—and that alumni-athletes of these institutions are high prospective donors—it is crucial to better understand their profile and their motivations for giving.

Research suggests that the level of identity to one's undergraduate alma mater correlates highly with the likelihood of alumni giving (Brady, Noble, Utter, & Smith, 2002; Mael & Ashforth, 1992). While the relationship between donor self-perceived identity relative to the institution has been examined in student-athletes from high profile Division I programs, few studies have examined selective student-athletes' motivations for gifting to institutions where "athletics are kept in harmony with the educational purposes of the institution and where student-athletes are more representative of the student body as a whole" (Aries & Richards, 1999, p. 212). Solicitation efforts at selective institutions could conceivably be maximized with a better understanding of how the student-athlete identity formation process influences athletes' motivations for giving.

At these institutions, the academic standards for admission require student-athletes to inherently possess a strong student identity while they participate in varsity sports. Therefore, the purpose of this interpretive, qualitative-dominant case study is to examine how identity salience to either student identity or athlete identity influences the giving patterns of alumni-athletes from selective institutions. More specifically, this study examines two questions pertaining to alumni-athletes from the University of Chicago, a private and highly selective research university with a Division III athletics program located in the Midwest. First, how does identity salience pertaining to dual roles as student and athlete influence philanthropic behavior toward the alma mater's athletic department? And second, to what extent do student identity and athlete identity influence the motivation of alumni-athletes to give to their alma maters' athletic departments?

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The intent of this chapter is to provide a review of the relevant literature informing the purpose of this study. This section presents an overview of higher education and college athletics philanthropy, discusses the dynamics of giving to academically selective institutions, reviews the roles that athletics play at these institutions, and outlines unique aspects of selective alumni-athlete philanthropic behavior. Further, it explains how athletes at selective institutions can simultaneously develop both student and athlete identities and how these dual identities might influence their decision to give to their alma mater's athletic department. I will begin with a general overview of the literature pertaining to higher education philanthropy.

Fundraising in Higher Education

From its inception, the American higher education system has relied on some form of private, philanthropic financial support to succeed. The first private institutions of higher education were founded upon Protestant religious convictions—Harvard in 1635 by Puritans, William and Mary in 1693 by Episcopalians, and Princeton in 1746 by Presbyterians—each funded privately by these respective groups. Around the same time, individual wealthy benefactors donated money to establish additional private institutions such as Cornell (1865), University of Chicago (1890) and Stanford (1891). In current day dollars, these founding gifts were enormous in size. For example, John D. Rockefeller's original gift to found the University of Chicago is currently valued at over $830 million (Thelin & Trollinger, 2014). In addition to the establishment of many privately funded universities, land grant institutions were formed because of The Morrill Act of 1862. This act both laid the foundation for public institutions and set an early precedent for public support of higher education (Rhodes, 1997).

Higher education continues to be one of the main beneficiaries of America's philanthropic culture (Rhodes, 1997; Thelin & Trollinger, 2014). In their work *Philanthropy and American Higher Education*, (2014) Thelin and Trollinger reveal that of the $316 billion in charitable donations in the year 2012, roughly 10% went to institutions of higher education. Much of this philanthropy is due to the role that colleges and universities play in America. In academic year 2012-13, over 2,000 degree granting colleges and universities enrolled nearly sixteen million students. One of the central tenets of American higher education philanthropy is reciprocity. Colleges did their part by being "community minded and philanthropic by seeking out talented youth and providing financial aid in the form of scholarships and fellowships" (Thelin & Trollinger, 2014, p. 12). In turn, alumni who benefited from these scholarships would donate back to their institutions.

As the philanthropic culture grew in higher education, university presidents began to identify the institutions' endowment as a key indicator of both perceived success and legitimacy. In addition to seeking out individual donors, in the early 1990s, institutions started their own alumni associations and developed structured development offices (Thelin & Trollinger, 2014). Harrison, Mitchell, and Peterson (1995) found that institutions with higher alumni office operating costs brought in substantially more donations.

In the current higher education climate, the difference between public and private institutions might be in name and derivation only. Private institutions are increasingly reliant on public funds in the form of federal research support and financial aid (Rhodes, 1997; Thelin & Trollinger, 2014). On the other hand, public institutions "used to be state supported. Then…were state assisted. Now…are state located" (Thelin & Trollinger, 2014, p. 31). As direct public support for public institutions has waned, public institutions now rely increasingly on private

donations from individuals, corporations, and foundations. As both types of institutions turned to corporations and foundations, the funding model became similar for each and "worked best when these multiple funding streams—tuition dollars, private donations, foundation gifts, state subsidies, and federal grant research dollars—were opened to full throttle" (Thelin & Trollinger, 2014, p. 32).

Rhodes (1997) indicated the emerging higher education climate—regardless of institution type—produced three notable demands: "cost containment, improved performance, and public accountability" (p. xviii). These demands largely originated from the nation's latest economic crisis, which had a dramatic impact on higher education. From July 2008 to March 2009, the Standard and Poor's 500 Index dropped more than 46% (Chabotar, 2010). The economic crisis caused higher education fundraising to drop for the first time since 1998 (Tsao & Coll, 2004). Public institutions faced even lower state appropriations from budget shortfalls. Private institutions dealt with declining endowments—23% on average—and waning donations (Chabotar, 2010; Weisbrod & Asch, 2010). Collectively, the majority of colleges and universities also dealt with failing investments and credit tightening. Many institutions were forced to dole out more financial aid to keep enrollment steady, leading to decreased tuition revenue (Weisbrod & Asch, 2010). Institutions implemented program reduction, mandatory furloughs, and increased class size (Galuszka, 2008; Jones & Wellman, 2010). Moreover, average spending levels per student dropped and institutions increased their reliance on adjunct faculty (Jones & Wellman, 2010).

Some of the financial burden was offset by the federal stimulus funds directed toward higher education. The stimulus provided more than $130 billion in federal funds to states, some of which went to higher education (Sabo, 2011). However, as these funds depleted, institutions

were forced to find alternatives to generate revenue and looked to philanthropy to ease the financial burden. Colleges and universities specifically sought financial support from undergraduate alumni as this group is the most engaged and dedicated source for making substantial gifts to the university (Boyer, 2004).

In general, alumni give when they perceive a positive outcome of their support (Weerts & Ronca, 2009). From an economic standpoint, Weerts and Ronca (2009) found that alumni with household incomes of $90,000+ were more likely to give; however, this likelihood decreased if members of the household held degrees from different institutions. Tsao and Coll (2004) also found that higher household incomes led to a greater tendency to donate. Several authors (Sun, Hoffman, & Grady, 2007; Weerts & Hudson, 2009) have found that in addition to financial standing, satisfaction with the undergraduate experience—to varying degrees—generally predicts the likelihood of donating. Notably, the research mentioned above these studies found that the alumni experience also differentiated donors from non-donors and that commitment levels and motivation levels differed significantly differed between donors to non-donors.

One particular branch of higher education—intercollegiate athletics—also relies heavily on philanthropy to operate. Regardless of the competition level—NCAA Division I, II, or III—athletic departments need private support. I will now turn my attention to the more specific topic of fundraising for athletics.

Fundraising in Intercollegiate Athletics

Intercollegiate athletics have long been a visible part of a university's operation. This is especially true for large, Division I institutions, where athletics act as the university's "front porch" (Bass, Schaeperkoetter, & Bunds, 2015; Sperber, 2000). In fact, "the marquee sports have evolved into the key point of reference to the university for many important audiences, an

outcome that the university has fostered through its use of college sports in campus life and external relations" (Toma, 1999, p. 81). Though the athletics department is technically under the university's purview, it often operates independently as its own entity, particularly at large Division I institutions. At times, the coexistence of the institution's mission and the athletic department's focus on winning creates conflict. This tension has led to the tendency for large Division I schools to develop a "hybrid identity" where "each side must reconcile educational values and commercial pressures" (Buer, 2009, p. 112).

Despite the visibility that athletics bring, few athletic departments turn a profit and most lose money on their athletic programs (Sperber, 2000; Suggs, 2009). The majority of athletic departments rely on annual disbursement from the university budget because they run an average deficit of $3.3 million (Ehrenberg, 2000; Suggs, 2000; Toma, 1999). Even in the big-time sports world of the Power 5 Conferences, revenues rarely outpace costs even when athletic departments garner substantial revenue from television, ticket sales, tournament bowl payouts, and licensing (Toma, 2003). Some universities make as much as $5 million in revenue in a single home game and feature annual revenues exceeding $40 million, yet these departments are rarely profitable (DeSchriver, 2009). For example, the University of Michigan, in an envious position of consistently selling out its 110,000 seat football stadium and 20,000 seat basketball stadium, ran a $2 million-dollar deficit in 1999 (Sperber, 2000). The Rutgers athletic department, while bringing in over $24 million in football revenue alone, actually lost $2.9 million, excluding university subsidies and athletic fees (Eichelberger & Staley, 2011). The primary factors culprits associated with losing money are waste, mismanagement, and fraud (Sperber, 2000). Because of the publicized lucrative television contracts and bowl game payouts, the public remains generally unaware of the financial status of most athletic departments. Further, while NCAA membership

increases visibility, it does not increase profitability as "belonging to the NCAA costs much more money annually than [schools] receive from the association" (Sperber, 2000, p. 227).

Athletic costs have increased at an alarming rate (Sperber, 2000). For Football Subdivision Schools (FBS), the median annual operating revenue was just over $35 million in 2006. This marked an increase of over 115% from 1996 (DeSchriver, 2009). Combined with declining state appropriations, athletic departments are seeking alternative forms of revenue aside from booster donations, ticket sales, and television revenue.

With higher education subsidies decreasing—and athletic costs increasing—athletic departments are relying increasingly on private philanthropy to fund athletic budgets (Stinson & Howard, 2007). Charitable contributions to NCAA Division I athletic departments nearly doubled from 1990 to 1999 (Stinson & Howard, 2004). In 2006, the largest athletic departments collectively raised more than $1 billion (Wolverton, 2007). The facilities arms race in Division I has been the catalyst for most of this fundraising, as the Power 5 Conferences raised just under $4 billion for capital projects from 2002 to 2007 (Wolverton, 2007).

Athletic departments have long relied on donors, but as spending in athletics has risen dramatically, athletic programs are targeting donors more intensely, often at the expense of the university (Sperber, 2000). In 1998, athletics gifts accounted for roughly 15% of all university contributions. By 2003, this figure reached had 26% (Wolverton, 2007). Stinson and Howard (2004) found that alumni donations to athletic departments are inversely associated with academic giving and that some donors are choosing to give entirely to athletics rather than to academics.

Considerable literature in this area has focused on the motivations behind donor behavior and the majority of these studies have been conducted at Division I institutions (Martinez,

Stinson, Kang, & Jubenville, 2010). Consequently, an entire branch of research has formed athletic donor motivation scales and examined factors that influence donations to major Division I athletic departments (Billing, Holt, & Smith, 1985; Gladden, Mahony, & Apostolopoulou, 2005; Ko, Rhee, Kim, & Kim, 2014; Staurowsky, Parkhouse, & Sachs, 1996; Strode & Fink, 2009; Tsiotsou, 2007; Verner, Hecht, & Fansler, 1998). Collectively, this research has demonstrated that donors were motivated by the following factors, listed in no particular order:

- a sense of philanthropic obligation
- satisfaction from philanthropy
- vicarious achievement
- success of the athletic department
- curiosity of the athletic department
- desire to improve the athletic department
- commitment to the institution and its athletics department
- affiliation and a sense of belonging
- socialization with other donors
- public recognition
- tangible benefits like tickets or upgraded parking and invitations to exclusive athletic events
- a feeling of power or ostensible involvement in decision making
- receiving “inside” information
- prestige

Additionally, Tsiotsou (2007) found that more highly motivated donors were more involved with their athletics program, and motivation, not income, was a better predictor of giving.

In sum, "donors (alumni and non-alumni) made contributions to athletics because they identified themselves with the institution (identity salience) and desired to keep their bonds or build relationships with the institution (commitment). Thus, donations might serve as a vehicle to accomplish these goals and as means to declare their association and commitment to the university" (Tsiotsou, 2007, p. 86).

As indicated above, the majority of research on intercollegiate athletics fundraising has occurred at Division I institutions with high profile athletics departments. However, selective institutions also look to philanthropy to fund their athletic departments. For the most part, these athletic programs received earmarked funds from the university budget (Bowen & Shulman, 2001; Morris, 2009). However, a selective institution can and does raise money directly on behalf of its athletics department. As stated previously, these selective institutions are often found in the Ivy League or are members of NCAA Division III. Prior to reviewing literature specific to these institutions' alumni-athlete philanthropic patterns, I will present a general review of fundraising at academically selective institutions.

Alumni Giving at Selective Institutions

From purely a revenue standpoint, alumni giving is important because private institutions receive minimal appropriations from the government, and such appropriations are declining (Wunnava & Lauze, 2001). Research found higher proportions of alumni from private institutions gave more often and more generously than alumni from public institutions (Bowen & Shulman, 2001). Such findings seem "logical since many alumni of public institutions probably feel those schools are supported adequately by taxes paid and subsequently disbursed through the state legislatures" (Brooker & Klastorin, 1981, p. 749). As a result, since these public sources of revenue are not present at private, selective institutions, alumni feel an inclination to give. From

an institutional point of view, alumni giving is a crucial revenue stream for selective institutions and they have long relied on individual benefactors to keep their institutions competitive (Bowen & Shulman, 2001; Monks, 2003). Part of what makes these institutions prestigious is the legitimacy they hold in the higher education arena. Maintaining this prestige is costly and often runs counter to economic principles (Gumport, 2000). For example, one aspect of maintaining this prestige is offering unique extracurricular programs to attract the best and brightest students, such as innovative student clubs or groups around either different industry professions or pressing social issues. These programs are costly; consequently, the reliance on philanthropy is high to fund these endeavors (Wunnava & Lauze, 2001). Ehrenberg (2000), in his work entitled *Tuition Rising*, explains why these institutions have such bloated operating budgets:

> As nonprofit organizations, [these] institutions show no profits on their accounting books. Rather, maximizing value to these administrators means making their institutions the very best that they can in almost every area of their activities…the selective private colleges and universities are all concerned with the quality of the education that they deliver… (p. 11)

Endowments offer another avenue to gain prestige, as high endowment levels signal prestige and excellence (O'Meara, 2007). As such, alumni giving at selective institutions represents a major source of revenue and plays a notable role in growing these institutions' endowments, which generate the wealth that maintains the prestige and selectivity of these institutions. In addition to being a significant source of current revenue for these institutions, "the generosity of past alumni manifested in endowment wealth also generates substantial income for top-tier private higher education institutions" (Monks, 2003, p. 121). While endowments provide budget relief for annual expenditures, an endowment's yearly distribution percentage is typically

far less than its rate of return (Ehrenberg, 2000). Ehrenberg and Smith (2003) found that the larger the endowment, the more the institution will devote annual giving proceeds to building that endowment. Selective institutions then must balance using alumni contributions to maintain a high endowment while using endowment funds for annual operating costs.

With such large endowments, alumni may question the need for philanthropic support as well as question current tuition levels. Due to their high tuition levels, many graduates of selective institutions usually leave with debt (Clotfelter, 2003). However, higher tuition is associated with higher levels of perceived educational reputation and prestige so institutions are incentivized to keep tuition high (Rindova, Williamson, Petkova, & Sever, 2005).

Prestige is also often conferred on selective institutions through *U.S. News & World Report* (*USNWR*) institutional rankings (Bastedo & Bowman, 2010, 2011). With the pressure to perform well in institutional rankings, alumni giving at selective institutions is important for two primary reasons. First, one of the criteria of the USNWR rankings is the amount spent on each student. As such "no administrator in his or her right mind would take actions to cut costs unless he or she had to" (Ehrenberg, 2000, p. 16). Second, alumni giving participation rates affect *USNWR* rankings. That is, the greater percentage of alumni that give—regardless of gift size—the better the institution scores on that metric. The external pressures that rankings play influences institutions to seek the legitimacy these rankings systems bestow and thus dictate institutional behavior (Bastedo & Bowman, 2010, 2011). Consequently, institutions place a major emphasis on alumni giving.

In addition to these factors, other research reveals why alumni at selective institutions choose to give. In his study on academically selective institutions—both liberal arts schools and private research universities—Clotfelter (2003) found that donating behavior was highly

correlated with satisfaction levels of the education they alumni received and that donation amount was associated with income levels. Additionally, Thomas and Zhang (2005) found that alumni from selective institutions typically achieved greater financial success. Combined, these two studies help explain why alumni from selective institutions give more frequently: they are satisfied with their education and they are likely to have lucrative careers, thus have more income that is discretionary. Interestingly, alumni who gave to liberal arts institutions gave more than those who attended private major research universities. Monks (2003) found in studying alumni of selective institutions that receiving financial aid made one more likely to give and that participation in extracurricular activities such as student government, athletics, or Greek life correlated with greater levels of eventual giving, thus reiterating the importance of funding these endeavors.

This small body of literature is important to this study because it gives a glimpse into the unique perspective of how selective institutions view alumni giving. It also sheds light on the importance of private giving at selective institutions. As mentioned above, alumni-athletes from selective institutions are high profile donors. However, alumni-athletes from selective institutions generally have very different student-athlete experiences than their high profile, Division I peers (Bowen & Shulman, 2001). This in large part is due to the different roles that athletics play at these institutions.

The next section covers literature detailing the role that athletics play at academically selective institutions. It will also discuss how athletics shapes the campus population and present literature on how alumni at these institutions view athletics once their playing days are over.

The Roles Athletics Play at Selective Institutions

Athletics play a different role at selective institutions than it does at major Division I institutions with high profile athletic departments, most notably in the admissions process, in the student body composition, and in campus purpose. More specifically, the view of how selective institutions use athletics varies between alumni-athletes from selective institutions and those from major Division I programs.

An institution is defined as selective if it has more well-qualified applicants than it has available positions for acceptance. Ironically, the lack of athletic scholarships at Ivy League and Division III institutions lead these schools to recruit more students, thus resulting in a greater number of applicants, which, in turn, helps improve the institution's selectivity measures. Bowen and Shulman (2001) also suggested that these institutions conceptualization of athletics draws many prospective student-athletes who are interested in "innocent levels of play" (2001, p. 37). At Division III institutions, the role that athletics play depends on the selectivity of the institution. Most Division III institutions are not technically selective (Rasmussen & Rasmussen, 2003). For the vast majority of Division III institutions, athletics are enrollment drivers (Beaver, 2014). In other words, the chance of being a college athlete causes a prospective student to attend a Division III institution he or she would have not otherwise attended. For academically selective Division III institutions, the selectivity of the institution limits enrollment numbers and the recruiting/admissions process mirrors that of Ivy League institutions.

Interestingly, though selective institutions' athletics departments are often less visible than those at high profile Division I institutions, their student bodies feature a higher percentage of student-athletes. At most selective institutions, the student-athlete population represents upwards of 20-30% of the student body (Bowen & Shulman, 2001). For example, at Division III

institutions, roughly 20% of the student-body are student-athletes compared to just 6% at Division I institutions.

Bowen and Shulman (2001) examined how alumni-athletes interpreted the role that athletics played at their former institutions. Specifically, they asked alumni-athletes to express their viewpoints on what the level of emphasis on athletics *ought* to be. Interestingly, most indicated that they felt like athletics played too great a role in their undergraduate experience. But as expected, alumni-athletes specifically expressed a stronger emphasis for athletics than their non-athlete counterparts. The indicated level of emphasis on athletics varied according to institutional type. Those that attended large, public Division I institutions expressed a stronger desire for de-emphasis of athletics, compared to alumni at the Ivy League and of coed liberal arts colleges. This literature is compelling because it reinforces the idea that "the impact of sports programs at the Ivy League and coed liberal arts colleges] may not be as visible on national television, but it can, nevertheless, end up being more consequential" (Bowen & Shulman, 2001, p. 203).

Alumni-athletes' viewpoint of the role that athletics plays at their institution varies. As a corollary, so too do their giving patterns. The next section will cover literature detailing some of the differences between giving from alumni-athletes from Division I institutions with high profile teams and alumni-athletes from selective institutions.

Differences in Alumni-Athlete Giving Across Institution Type

Shapiro et al. (2010) articulated the importance of alumni-athlete giving. First, alumni-athletes are a unique population insofar as they have an existing relationship with the athletic department "that is not unlike the connection between alumni and the institution as a whole" (p. 285). The sheer number of alumni-athletes is staggering: The authors point out that the NCAA

indicated between 1981 and 2007, there has never been fewer than 231,445 active student-athletes across all divisions, nearly all of whom will graduate and become prospective donors. Secondly, this population has not been adequately cultivated. For example, at the university where they conducted their research, only 5% of alumni-athletes had given to athletics.

O'Neill and Schenke (2007) found that Division I alumni-athletes from high profile athletic departments might be *less* generous than their non-athlete counterparts because they felt they gave enough to their schools during their playing days. The authors also found that lack of identification with their alma mater and a negative student-athlete experience were constraints to giving. As a result, most Division I athletes did not respond favorably to philanthropic requests. Further, for the few alumni-athletes that gave, the authors found that the quality of the alumni-athlete's experience and their perception of the institution were predictive of giving amount. Often, at Division I institutions with high profile athletics departments, the school and its athletic department compete for the same dollar (Sperber, 2000; Stinson & Howard, 2004). At these institutions, there is clearer demarcation between athletics and university life. "Such schools have reason to be highly sensitive to factors affecting their overall level of private support and to be aware that a dollar given to support the football team could be a dollar that otherwise might have gone to the library" (Meserve, Bowen, & Turner, 2001, p. 814).

In contrast, alumni-athletes from selective institutions are "disproportionately generous toward their alma mater…"(Bowen & Shulman, 2001, p. 206). As such, in general, alumni-athletes from selective institutions are highly prospective donors and were 22% more likely to give than their non-athlete counterparts (Holmes et al., 2008). Bowen and Shulman (2001) also found that at selective institutions, there was an increased willingness to give to athletics among recent graduates. Additionally, Division III alumni-athletes are more likely to give directly to

athletics, whereas Division I athletics tend to benefit from gifts from the entire alumni—and non-alumni—base (Stinson & Howard, 2004). At selective institutions, alumni-athletes are more likely to support athletics, though with smaller gift amounts than other alumni give to the general education fund (Bowen & Shulman, 2001). Consequently, at selective institutions, alumni-athlete fundraising might be even more consequential because alumni giving could go to offset athletic costs that the university typically covers.

At selective institutions, participation is the main focus of athletics (Bowen & Shulman, 2001; Plinske, 2000). As a result, one of the areas that has received substantial attention in selective institutions' athletics department is the value placed on winning, particularly its impact on alumni giving. Research is mixed on the relationship between winning and giving behavior athletic success and winning at these institutions (Bowen & Shulman, 2001; Holmes et al., 2008; Stinson & Howard, 2007; Turner, 1985). In their study of whether winning impacts giving at academically selective institutions, Meserve et al. (2001) found no relationship between winning and giving at a selective Division I institution, but found a modest effect at a Division III institution. In support of this viewpoint, other research found that Division III alumni-athletes were more sensitive to winning in relation to giving than their selective Division I counterparts (Holmes et al., 2008). The authors posit that at Division III institutions, alumni-athletes more strongly identify with their institution and thus are more invested in their success, a claim that Bowen and Shulman (2001) also support. Holmes et al. (2008) also found that a winning season led to more general alumni gifts at a Division III institution. In contrast, other research found that because selective institutions are inherently ranked as top institutions, the higher the institutional ranking, the less winning mattered in one's decision to give (Stinson & Howard, 2007). It is worth noting that at Division I institutions, research examining the impact of winning is also

mixed (Brooker & Klastorin, 1981; Coughlin & Erekson, 1985; Sigelman & Carter, 1979; Stinson & Howard, 2004).

Equally as important as elucidating alumni-athlete giving motivations is determining the reasons they choose *not* to give. Recognizing that "research on donor constraints for former student-athletes is virtually non-existent" Shapiro et al. (2010) formulated a donor constraint scale designed specifically for former student-athletes (p. 285). Ultimately, the authors developed a five-factor alumni-athlete donor constraint scale that provided a framework for further inquiry. The factors are:

- Lack of importance—the feeling that other charitable causes were more important, or they viewed the institution as not having tangible need
- Lack of connection—lack of connection or identification with the athletic department
- Lack of communication/knowledge—lack of information about the actual donation process provided to alumni-athletes
- Poor experience—"poor or indifferent student-athlete experience perceived by athletic alumni" (p. 287)
- Overall dissatisfaction—lack of satisfaction with former team or the athletics department

This constraint scale—the only of its kind—is important to document and could be implemented for future research on alumni-athletes from all institution types.

As covered above, alumni-athlete giving patterns and motivations vary based on institutional type. Variations in giving patterns are likely a result of different student-athlete climates experienced while competing. The next sections will review literature on identity theory and provide a conceptual framework for exploring student-athlete identity formation in both athletes from Division III institutions and Division I institutions. Specific literature on Division

III student-athletes is presented because the present study's research focuses on alumni-athletes from a selective Division III institution. Over the last twenty years, the sport management literature also formulated a specific construct known as athlete identity and this literature, given its salience to the topic will be discussed. Given this study will examine alumni-athlete from a selective Division III institution, I will present a brief overview of NCAA Division III before proceeding to the identity theory and student-athlete identity literature sections.

Division III and Selective Institutions Overview

Formed in 1978, there are over 440 members in Division III, over 80% of which are private institutions. With an average enrollment of around 2,250 students (Emerson et al., 2009; Suggs, 2003), Division III institutions enroll over 950,000 undergraduate students, roughly 183,000 of whom are student-athletes (Rasmussen & Rasmussen, 2003). With these high figures, Division III is the largest of the NCAA's three divisions as almost 40% of all NCAA student-athletes compete at the Division III level (Morris, 2009). Interestingly, though it is the largest division in the NCAA, it only receives around 3.2% of the overall NCAA budget allocation. At Division III institutions, student-athletes make up a large part of the student body. As mentioned, on average student-athletes represent roughly 20% of the student-body compared to just 6% at Division I institutions and at most Division III institutions, athletics are enrollment drivers that help increase tuition revenue (Tobin, 2005). According to the NCAA, the average total operating expense for Division III institutions that sponsor football is $4,265,000 while that at non-football sponsoring institutions is $2,696,000. Gender equity is a predominant theme in Division III. NCAA rules require a minimum of two sports teams for each gender and each gender must be active in different playing seasons (Morris, 2009). Participation is the main focus; "Division III

encourages participation by maximizing the number and variety of athletic sports available to students having an emphasis on regional competition" (Morris, 2009, p. 128).

Division III sports are not designed to produce additional revenue for the institution. Rather, they serve local audiences and the community (Emerson et al., 2009; Suggs, 2003). Because Division III athletic departments are generally funded by the university budget, similar to other departments of the institution, raising outside funding to support athletics is not as heavily emphasized as it is at Division I universities (Emerson et al., 2009). As a result of its general goals, Division III does not give out athletic scholarships or any type of financial merit-based awards for athletic ability (Morris, 2009). Administrators and faculty at Division III institutions agree that the same general institutional academic standards be applied to athletes.

The NCAA touts the philosophy that athletic participation "provides a well-rounded collegiate experience that involves a balance of rigorous academics, competitive athletics, and the opportunity to pursue the multitude of other co-curricular and extra-curricular opportunities on Division III campuses" ("NCAA Division III Facts and Figures,"). Moreover, there is an emphasis to "minimize conflicts between athletics and academics, allowing student-athletes to focus on their academic programs and achievement of a degree" ("NCAA Division III Facts and Figures,"). Interestingly, while Division III has the NCAA's largest group membership, the NCAA only allocates 3.18% of its annual budget—or approximately $28.5 million—to Division III institutions.

Most Division III members are liberal arts institutions that place a strong emphasis on academics and student development. The Rasmussen and Rasmussen study (2003) found that 72% of Division III institutions reported average SAT Verbal Scores in the 75th Percentile (550 or higher) and 71% of Division III institutions reported average SAT Math Scores in the 75th

Percentile (550 or higher). The graduation success rate for Division III is the highest of any NCAA Division at 87%.

As covered in chapter one, Plinske (2000) detailed the differing motivations for supporting major Division I athletic departments and Division III athletic departments. Plinske (2000) also noted that the importance of Division III athletics fundraising is often minimized due to administration resistance. Additionally, he noted that Division III donors are typically alumni-athletes or current parents of student-athletes as compared to boosters or corporations seen at the Division I level. In contrast with multiple other authors, ((Ko, Rhee, Walker, et al. (2014), Strode and Fink (2009), and Tsiotsou (2007)), Plinske (2000) found that Division III donors gave not from the motivations of tangible benefits, but because they supported the philosophy and ideology of Division III athletics. The value placed on this unique philosophy is a critical point, the relevance of which will become clearer as the literature on student-athlete identity is unpacked.

The next section will discuss how the tenets of identity theory are useful in explaining the differences between student-athletes at selective institutions and those that attend other institutions.

Identity Theory

Identity theory posits that a person's individual identity is multifaceted and hierarchically organized, comprised of multiple roles that differ or change depending on the social situation (Stryker & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). Each "group-based self" manifests itself differently and each individual has many identities, based on the number of roles they hold (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 286). These varying roles are a direct reflection of one's engagement with society. As explained by Stryker and Burke (2000),

> Society is seen as a mosaic of relatively durable patterned interactions and relationships, differentiated yet organized, embedded in an array of groups, organizations, communities, and institutions, and intersected by crosscutting boundaries of class, ethnicity, age, gender, religion, and other variables…persons are seen as living their lives in relatively small and specialized networks of social relationships, through roles that support their participation in such networks. (p. 285)

Further, the theory "asserts that role choices are a function of identities so conceptualized, and that identities within self are organized in a salience hierarchy as an organizational principle in society" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 286). This salience reflects one's commitment level to the role and actions associated with a given identity. Consequently, "the location of an identity in this hierarchy is a consequence of the support provided by the person as well as by others for the identity, the degree of commitment to and investment in the identity, and the intrinsic and extrinsic gratification associated with the identity" (Stryker & Serpe, 1994, p. 16). More simply, individuals typically belong to more than one social group, resulting in multiple identities. The more salient an identity, the more likely an individual adopts that identity in a given scenario. As explained by Adler and Adler (1987) "as individuals assessed their relative strengths and weaknesses within given roles, they [accord] higher salience to those in which they were evaluated positively and lower salience to those in which they were negatively evaluated" (p. 452). People will maintain higher identity salience to those roles where society confers the greatest reward and acceptance.

By its very nature, one's identity in society inherently changes when the environment changes. The different parts of one's identity are hierarchically organized and "the specific facets reflect the category system adopted by a particular individual and/or shared by a group (Marsh &

Shavelson, 1985, p. 107). That is, the particular social group one belongs to—and individuals belongs to more than one—elicits a certain type of identity that manifests itself in interactions with this group. Different social situations and contexts summon different identities, and consequently different responses or behaviors. Identity is hierarchical because the higher the salience of the identity, the greater the likelihood specific behaviors will reflect that identity. One's social structures and existing networks influence one's identity hierarchy.

> The embeddedness of patterned interactions and relationships implies a structural symbolic interactionist argument: the probability of entering into the concrete social networks in which persons live their lives is influenced by larger social structures in which those networks are embedded. (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 285)

Therefore, identity theory posits that identity is a social phenomenon because the identity one chooses to act in accordance with depends on social situations and group characteristics.

While identities can rival one another in a competitive fashion, Allen, Wilder, and Atkinson (1983) noted that even though identities are organized hierarchically, they can exist harmoniously. One can have multiple identities simultaneously. Spreitzer, Snyder, and Larson (1979) and Thoits (1983) each argued: "When individuals have multiple identities and enact multiple roles, they may do so with little negative effect, successfully enacting and deriving satisfaction and well-being from each role and gaining additional benefits from each additional role" (as cited in Killeya-Jones, 2005, p. 168). Supporting research found that the better integrated the social network, the less likely that the overlapping of identities will create conflict (Allen et al., 1983).

Identity theory is particularly relevant to the student-athlete experience at a selective institution. The theory supports the supposition that these student-athletes can successfully

maintain and manifest multiple identities, in this case as both student and athlete, and elicit both of these identities depending on the social context. Moreover, identity theory suggests that the better integrated the network, the less conflict one experiences in managing multiple identities. As such, it also could explain the difficulty Division I student-athletes have in balancing their student and athlete identities, the subject that I will review next.

Differences in the Experiences and Identities of Division I Student-Athletes and Student-Athletes at Selective Institutions

On a broad level, the identity of student-athletes is "formed and sustained within the contexts of academic institutions, sport teams, close friends, and classes" (Yukhymenko–Lescroart, 2014, p. 90). These formed identities can occasionally compete with one another, as "the role of student and of athlete compete for scarce resources" (Aries & Richards, 1999, p. 211). Identity theory predicts individuals can assume various roles that manifest themselves in varying situations.

Literature examining Division I student-athletes has largely found that they often have difficulty identifying both as student and as athlete. In an effort to study this phenomenon, Yukhymenko–Lescroart (2014) created a multidimensional scale—the Academic and Athletic Identity Scale (AAIS)—to measure student and athletic identity. Her research on Division I student-athletes revealed that the stronger one's athlete identity, the weaker one's academic or student identity. Additional research on Division scholarship I student-athletes has supported these findings (Adler & Adler, 1987; Lally, 2007; Sturm, Feltz, & Gilson, 2011). Such research reiterated that one dimension—either athlete or student—took precedence over the other, depending on the athlete's main role, and that Division I student-athletes often increased their athlete identity and the expense of their student identity. These authors explained that the

Division I culture prompted student-athletes to place less emphasis on their student identity because the Division I culture devalued classroom activities. Moreover, this research found that the more one was committed to a particular role, the more the individual increased their identity salience towards that role. Identity salience may explain these findings, and suggests that one's success level in a particular identity would determine whether that identity becomes the prominent one. In this research, the identity formation process showed elements of a zero-sum game; the more a student- athlete identified as an athlete, the less they identified as a student, and in this particular social context, these dual identities competed.

In contrast, at selective institutions, Yopyk and Prentice (2005) demonstrated how student-athletes could maintain dual identities and shift between identities based on situations, context, and surroundings.

> Who one is and how one performs at any given moment depend critically on the relative salience of one's social identities…student-athletes are sensitive to the relative salience of their student and athlete identities…these results reflect the role of adaptiveness in determining the salience of competing identities. Tasks that clearly favor one identity over others may increase the salience of the favored identity. Such a process would enable people to shift rapidly and seamlessly from one identity to another in response to task demands. Indeed, it may be precisely this process that has enabled our student-athlete participants to excel at both academic and athlete pursuits. (pp. 333-334)

In other words, the identity switching process for a particular social situation for student-athletes at selective institutions was more adaptive and fluid rather than competitive, as it was for Division I student-athletes (Yukhymenko-Lescroart's (2014). In this study, the authors demonstrated the elements of a zero-sum identity salience structure, which in turn, promoted role

conflict for the student-athlete. These findings echo earlier cited work that athletes at selective institutions can harmoniously balance their identity as students and as athletes and are able to do so in an adaptive fashion rather than a competitive, zero-sum fashion. This identity formation might also ultimately impact the giving patterns of alumni-athletes (Mael & Ashforth, 1992; O'Neill & Schenke, 2007), a subject to which I will now turn.

Killeya-Jones (2005) found the more student-athletes at selective institutions valued their student role, the "greater convergence between the student and athlete roles" (p. 177). Less discrepancy between the roles led to more positive well-being, and higher levels of life satisfaction and academic satisfaction. Killeya-Jones (2005) found that these student-athletes harmonized their distinct student and athlete identities, the more positive their psychological adjustment. Thus, role conflict was avoided. As Killeya-Jones (2005) explained,

> The combination of irreconcilable construals and differences in evaluation may lead to conflict between the roles…Such discomfort might be seen in the maladjustment of the individual in one or both identity/role domains…Conversely, 'role integration' in the multiple self can be conceived of as a linked set of concordant identities that share some thoughts, feelings and traits, and are relatively equal in their evaluation. Thus, they can be reconciled: *each can be enacted without causing discomfort relative to another*…If the student-athlete wishes to succeed both academically and athletically at college, any conflict between the Student role and Athlete role cannot be successfully resolved by rejecting either." (p. 169, emphasis added)

This quote echoes one of the NCAA's espoused goals for Division III: to "minimize conflicts between athletics and academics, allowing student-athletes to focus on their academic programs and achievement of a degree." Therefore, while athletic participation is indeed time consuming,

it does not impede academic or social progress. The fact that one can simultaneously experience multiple identities and that these identities can coexist relates to the present study because it suggests that college athletes are able to identify as both student and athlete and can maintain these identities in an adaptive way.

Additional literature outside of identity theory supports the notion that student-athletes at selective institutions—namely Division III student-athletes—dedicate time to developing as students and as athletes (Emerson et al., 2009; Gabert et al., 1999; Goss, Jubenville, & Orejan, 2006; Griffith & Johnson, 2002; Robst & Keil, 2000). These research findings revealed that Division III athletic participation did not negatively affect classroom performance and that Division III student-athletes took more credits per academic year, took more challenging courses, placed greater emphasis on academic importance than their Division I counterparts, and had higher graduation rates than non-athletes. Additionally, Division III student-athletes indicated that academic programs played a prominent role in their college selection. Emerson et al. (2009) reiterated the Division III belief that its athletes should represent a part in their own student bodies. Consequently, "athletes live in the same residences halls with non-athletes, take the same courses, eat in the same dining halls, and ideally should be similar to other students in their academic motivation, interests, classroom contributions, and achievement"(2009, p. 68).

Aries and Richards (1999) found that at Division III institutions, participation in athletics did not hinder other campus involvement. The authors found that while athletes spent significantly more time on sports than other extracurricular activities, they did not differ from non-athletes for time devoted to studying each week. Additionally, Division III student-athletes did not face difficulty in finding time to interact with different campus group and athletes and non-athletes had no significant differences in friendship satisfaction, academic performance,

extracurricular satisfaction, physical health, or ability to handle stress or perceived personal growth.

Given that student-athletes at selective institutions can harmoniously and effectively embrace roles of both student and athlete, it is possible that each of these roles will ultimately affect athlete alumni giving. More specifically, it prompts the question of whether alumni-athletes at selective institutions donate to their alma maters' athletic departments not simply because of their prior athletic participation, but because they also had the opportunity to embrace the student identity during their college experience. This line of thought parallels Killeya-Jones' (2005) research, indicating the more that student-athletes from selective institutions valued their role as a student, the greater likelihood of a harmonious convergence between student and athlete roles.

Over the last two decades, sport management literature has developed and refined an athlete identity construct with a corresponding scale (Brewer, Van Raalte, & Linder, 1993). While the present study does not employ the direct use of Brewer et al.'s (1993) scale, it nonetheless acknowledges the presence of an identity formation process that is unique to athletes. The athlete identity scale has been used widely in the literature and studies examining athlete identity demonstrate how athlete identity level affects the experiences, and thus, behavior of athletes.

Athletic Identity

Athletic identity construct has evolved from the organizational identity literature. Athletic identity is yet another component of social identity and is "the extent to which a person identifies with the athlete role" (Nasco & Webb, 2006, p. 434). Nasco and Webb (2006) argued that athletic identity is "often a more powerful force than other social identities because most elite

athletes form these identities early in their lives and this athletic identity is prevalent across the life span" (p. 435).

To test such a construct, Brewer and Cornelius (2001) developed the Athletic Identity Measurement Scale (AIMS). This scale has been repeatedly used in sport literature for male and female athletes. Originally comprised of ten items, the scale was later reduced to seven items. Brewer (1993) found that, while a strong athletic identity can lead to a strong sense of self-identity, higher confidence, and more social interactions, high levels of athletic identity are sometimes negative, namely for student-athletes. Research related to athletic identity has found that athletic identity levels may vary among sports and that gender may play a role in influencing athletic identity levels (Mignano, Brewer, Winter, & Van Raalte, 2006; Proios, 2012). Proios (2012) also found that others' perception of one's athletic role might determine that individual's own perception of his athletic role. Athletic identity levels have also been linked to performance. For example, Brewer et al. (1999) found that athletes who perform poorly over the course of a season are more likely to decrease their athletic identity. Other research has examined the various sides to athletic identity. Nasco and Webb (2006) examined the public and private aspects of athletic identity. They found that that high levels of private athletic identity were present in athletes who competed because they identified athletic participation is a key component of their self-expression. Alternatively, high levels of public athletic identity were seen in those that competed because of the attention participation brought, brings or because sports were seen as a major source of popularity. These authors developed a scale that showed public and private athletic identities were indeed separate constructs.

One of Brewer's (1993) findings was that AIMS scores were positively correlated with competition level. Such a finding is particularly relevant for this study. Earlier literature has been

presented detailing the unique identity make up of student-athletes at selective institutions. Additional literature on this topic that utilized the AIMS scale is presented below. This literature reiterates that scholarship Division I and Division III student-athletes have different identity profiles, with Division I athletes often identifying stronger as athletes than as students (Adler & Adler, 1985; Gayles & Hu, 2009a). Parker (1994) found that former Division I football players who had strong athlete identities—and hopes of professional football—disregarded the importance of their academic endeavors. Griffith and Johnson (2002) when comparing scholarship Division I and Division III student-athletes found that Division I student-athletes ranked their athlete role significantly higher than did Division III student-athletes. Those with high levels of athlete identity often have lower levels of student identity—particularly at Division I institutions—and face psychological drawbacks during sport transition periods like injury, retirement, or being cut from the team. Wiechman and Williams (1997) also found that exclusively identifying as an athlete limited the development of other roles and made one less multidimensional.

Other research has examined the construct of athlete identity through the gender lens. Sturm et al. (2011) compared Division I and Division III student-athletes and found that females expressed stronger academic identity and weaker athletic identity than males. Mignano et al. (2006) found that Division III student-athletes at women's colleges had stronger athletic identifications than Division III student-athletes at coeducational colleges. At women only colleges, perhaps student-athletes identify stronger as athletes because women can fully embrace their athletic roles and identities. These findings suggest that environments matter. In contrast, Sturm et al. (2011) when comparing Division I student-athletes to Division III student-athletes found that males had higher athlete identity levels and females had higher student identities. For

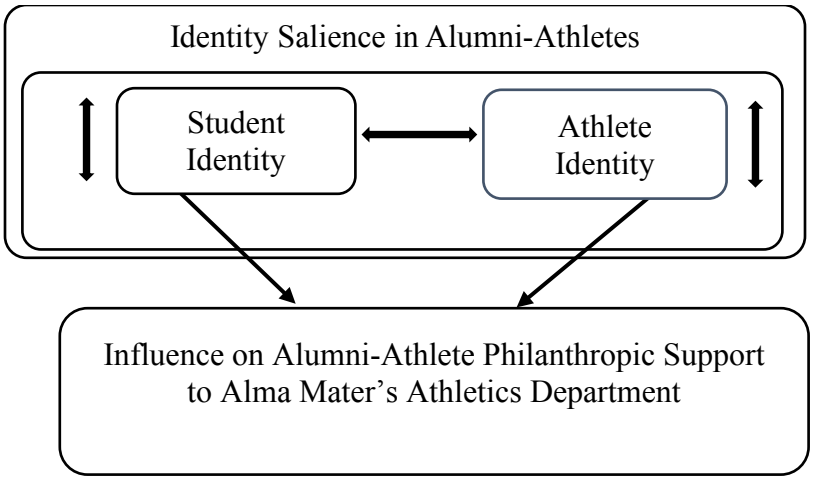
both groups of athletes, she also found that as athlete identity increased, student identity decreased. This finding should be evaluated however with some caution, as Sturm et al. (2011) compared only two institutions.

Understanding donor motivation is a multidimensional construct with various theories (Mann, 2007; Sun et al., 2007; Tsao & Coll, 2004). Fundraising literature has indicated that identification with a school's athletic department is a predictor of philanthropic behavior (Brady et al., 2002; Kim, Chang, & Ko, 2010; Mael & Ashforth, 1992). Mael and Ashforth's (1992) study actually focused on alumni giving as an indicator of strong organizational identification, since "alumni identification is likely to strongly affect the welfare of their respective alma maters" (p. 104). The literature reviewed to this point will be summarized in the next section to present an integrated framework for examining the motivations to give by alumni-athletes who have attended selective institutions.

Integrative Model of Alumni-Athlete Giving Motivations from Selective Institutions

This chapter reviewed several bodies of literature, all of which combine to inform the purpose of this study introduced in chapter one. I designed Figure 2.1 below to provide a visual overview of these bodies of literature and to demonstrate how they combine to inform how the identity process of a student-athlete from a selective institution could explain motivation for subsequent giving to an alma mater's athletic department. The Student Identity and Athlete Identity boxes are purposefully the same size to indicate equal relative salience of each identity and the horizontal and vertical arrows represent the influences of the research findings noted above, suggesting student-athletes can harmoniously adapt to different identities without diminishing the relative value of either.

Figure 2.1. Integrative Model of Alumni-Athlete Giving at Selective Institutions


Identity Salience in Alumni-Athletes
Student Identity
Athlete Identity
Influence on Alumni-Athlete Philanthropic Support to Alma Mater's Athletics Department

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed literature on philanthropy in higher education, giving patterns of alumni at selective institutions, and the roles that athletics play at selective institutions. It also explored how and why alumni-athlete giving patterns vary across institution type. This chapter also presented literature on identity theory and how its tenets explain the student-athlete identity formation process.

The subjects of this study were alumni-athletes from a selective Division III institution. These alumni-athletes represent a critical alumni base for philanthropic support. Identity theory provides a conceptual framework that explains how and why student-athletes at selective institutions can form and maintain student identities *and* athlete identities. These identities—and the way they interacted—are consequential in influencing an ultimate decision to donate. There is a dearth of literature not only on selective institution alumni-athlete giving, but also on the impact maintaining these dual identities has on alumni-athletes' decisions to financially support their alma maters' athletic department. Answering this study's research questions will provide selective institution athletic departments—and fundraisers—insights into how to structure the student-athlete experience to provide opportunities and experiences most conducive to forming the identity prevalent in alumni-athletes that ultimately donate to athletic departments.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides an overview of the methodology used to address the goals of the study identified in chapter one. The findings from this study have the potential to advance the literature on identity theory, higher education philanthropy, intercollegiate athletics, and sport management. Additionally, the findings may allow university and athletic administrators at selective institutions to better understand how a student-athlete's collective experiences shape their motivation to donate to their former athletic department by elucidating motives for philanthropic behavior. This mixed methods study utilized both quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews and was conducted primarily through a social constructivist paradigm, in the form of an interpretive and exploratory case study that used mixed methods stratified sampling. Methodological design included the use of an approved—and combined—academic and athletic identity scale, semi-structured interviews and subsequent open-coding and transcript analysis.

This chapter will provide an overview of some major considerations about mixed methods research and explain its utility and relevance to the present study. Additionally, it describes why a mixed methods approach is most appropriate for this study, defines the type of mixed methods research conducted and presents both quantitative and qualitative data gathering techniques used in this study. Interwoven in these sections is relevant literature on the use of qualitative research in sport management research. The chapter concludes by addressing credibility, transferability, and trustworthiness in qualitative literature as well as the researcher's positionality and reflexivity.

Research Paradigms In Higher Education

In a comprehensive overview of organizational study in higher education, Bess and Dee (2008) indicated that research in this field is performed in three different paradigms: positivist, social constructivist, and postmodernist. In positivist research, the goal is to explain, predict, and control or intervene. As a result, this paradigm often employs quantitative analysis. Alternatively, researchers that utilize the postmodern paradigm believe that it is not possible to predict human behavior because true reality does not exist; therefore, theory is not used in this paradigm and researchers seek to identify subjective problems in institutions of higher learning. Finally, the social constructivist paradigm employs research approaches embedded in social sciences and focuses on socially constructed information and meaning making (Bess & Dee, 2008; Blimling, 2004). In the higher education setting, the social constructivist paradigm assumes that "organizational reality is created and recreated every day through interpersonal interactions…organizational members, therefore, will construct and interpret reality in a variety of different ways…people—individually and jointly—construct frames of reference to interpret organizational reality" (Bess & Dee, 2008, pp. 15-16). As a corollary, the social constructivist paradigm inherently "provides the primary foundation and anchor for qualitative methods (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 129). This study was conducted through the social constructivist paradigm, as it is primarily qualitative in nature. While primarily qualitative, it features a quantitative component, thus making it a mixed methods study. More literature on mixed methods research is briefly presented next.

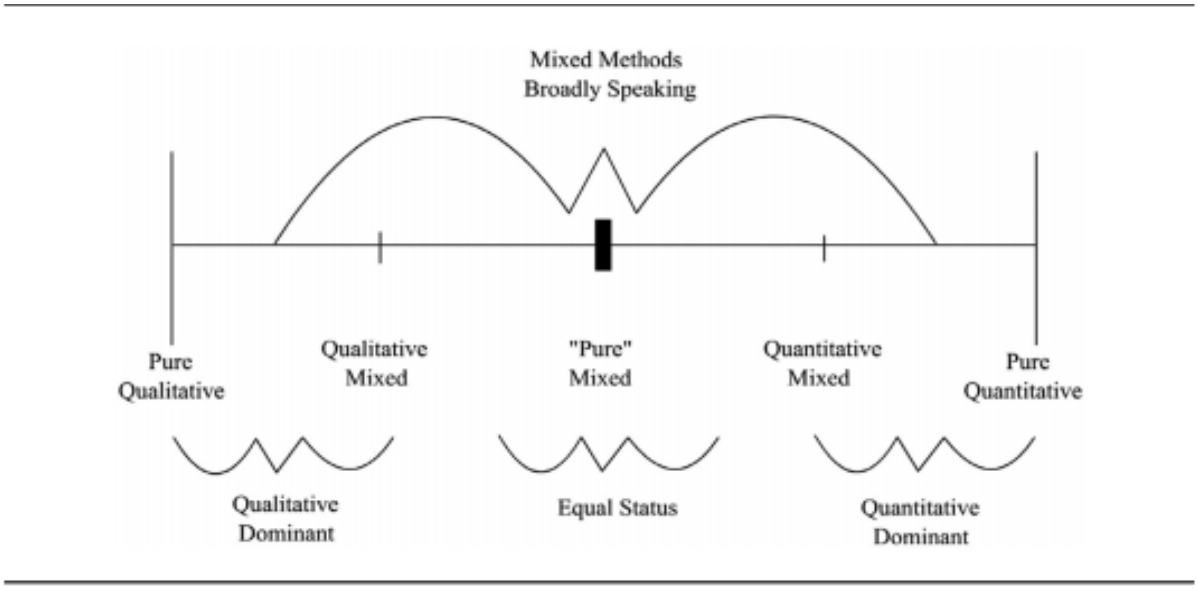
Mixed Methods Overview

In social science research, there is no absolute method of data collection (Abowitz & Toole, 2009). As a result, there has long been discord about which type of research approach is most effective (Commander & Ward, 2009). As stated previously, the type of method a

researcher uses typically reflects a preference for or belief in certain research paradigms. Quantitative research is performed in the positivist paradigm where the researcher believes that inquiry is objective. In contrast, qualitative research often employs the social constructivist paradigm where researchers believe that individuals create and interpret realities differently. Historically, these two methods to research were viewed separately because of their ostensible incompatibility, leading to the formation of the incompatibility thesis (Howe, 1988). In the current social sciences literature, however, many are calling for more mixed methods research (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The goal of such an approach is "not to replace either of these approaches but rather to draw from the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of both in single research studies and across studies" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, pp. 14-15). While seemingly different approaches, both methods share commonalities. All social science research is aimed at furthering knowledge of human beings and their environments; as such, researchers should take a holistic view of research and explore different phenomena from different perspectives (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) . Additionally, some have posited that the increasing interdisciplinary aspect of research begets the need for complementary research methods that will allow for better understanding, provide a fuller picture of comprehension, increase confidence in findings, and improve validity (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). This new model of research is based in a philosophy of pragmatism, an "approach to knowledge (theory and practice) that attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions, and standpoints…" (Johnson et al., 2007, p. 113). As such, study design should combine both quantitative and qualitative methods to improve study strength and limit its weaknesses (Johnson et al., 2007).

Proponents of mixed model research recognize that not every mixed method approach will equally employ qualitative and quantitative strategies. Consequently, Johnson et al. (2007) and Teddlie and Yu (2007) outlined a mixed methods research continuum that ranges from strictly qualitative to strictly quantitative, thus recognizing that mixed methods studies—while featuring quantitative and qualitative aspects—may favor or utilize one approach more than the other. Johnson et al.'s (2007, p. 124) continuum model is presented below:

Figure 3.1. Mixed Methods Continuum Model (as depicted in Johnson et al. (2007))



This study adheres to this continuum. While using a mixed methods approach, it employed more of a qualitative research approach and therefore used the mixed methods research strategy called *qualitative mixed* or *qualitative dominant* (Johnson et al., 2007). Consequently, a review of qualitative research is presented next.

Qualitative Research Overview

Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how individuals relate to and interpret their social world at a particular point and place in time. Merriam (2002) indicated four primary characteristics of qualitative research. First, researchers seek to understand how people

construct meaning in particular contexts of their social experiences. Second, the researcher is the chief instrument for data collection and analysis. This is intentional, as "the human instrument, which is able to be immediately responsive and adaptive, would seem to be the ideal means of collecting and analyzing data" (p. 5). Third, qualitative research is inductive, meaning that researchers use their observations and findings to develop themes, categories, and tentative hypotheses while or after research is conducted, as opposed to forming initial hypotheses to be later tested. Finally, qualitative research is richly descriptive; that is, "words and pictures rather than numbers are used to convey what the research has learned about a phenomenon" (p. 5). Whereas in quantitative research the researcher observes measurable phenomena from a positivist paradigm with generalizable results, qualitative research posits that the construction and interpretation of meaning are fluid and change over time (Merriam, 2002). Consequently, qualitative research is most appropriate when asking "why or how" rather than "how many?" (Whitt, 1991, p. 409).

Over the last three decades, qualitative research has increased in status and visibility in the social sciences, particularly in anthropology, education, sociology, and clinical psychology (Merriam, 2002; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The social sciences study the uniqueness and variance of human behavior. Therefore, studies in the social sciences now regularly use a qualitative research approach because it inherently supports the premise that "meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world" (Merriam, 2002, p. 3).

Over time, the use of qualitative research in higher education increased because both scholars and practitioners sought to understand the complexities, processes, and cultures of colleges and universities (Whitt, 1991). To understand student experiences, Whitt (1991) maintained that it is imperative to understand institutional culture and experience as research

should "[reflect] as many and as diverse viewpoints, experiences, and meanings as possible (p. 407). As such, qualitative research is considered the superior research approach in higher education because it allows for "achieving in-depth understanding of complex organizations…" (Whitt, 1991, p. 409). A qualitative approach is also appropriate in higher education research because these studies often examine a certain developmental process or phenomenon that occurs over time or during a student's time on campus. Researchers use a qualitative approach then because it allows them to explore "what happens *between* the beginning and the end, how the persons involved in the process perceive and feel about their experiences, and what development or change means to all who are connected with the process" (Whitt, 1991, p. 409).

Whitt's observation regarding the use of qualitative research in higher education mirrors that of the present study. Exploring how the student-athlete identity process in alumni-athletes from selective institutions influences their philanthropic activity involves an inherent examination of how they interpreted and conceptualized their student-athlete experience over time. This process is conducive to the use of a qualitative research approach, as is attempted to determine how alumni-athletes subjectively interpret meaning in their social world and how these interpretations ultimately shaped their philanthropic behavior. Previous work in philanthropic research has often utilized a quantitative approach by quantifying aspects of the student experience or rationale for giving. However, statistical modeling and analysis cannot wholly reveal inherent motivations for why alumni give to their alma maters (Wastyn, 2009).

Qualitative Research in Sport Management Literature

Because this study examines issues related to the student-athlete identity process, it can contribute to the sport management literature. Sport management researchers in particular have called for expanding the prevalence of qualitative work and its corresponding research paradigms

(Biddle, Markland, Gilbourne, Chatzisarantis, & Sparkes, 2001; Costa, 2005; Frisby, 2005) These researchers cited the a growing "subtle paradigmatic difference between those who feel that sport management research can be conducted in a strictly objective (i.e., positivist) manner and those who feel that the management of sport is socially constructed" (Costa, 2005, pp. 132-133). While the present study takes a mixed methods approach, it is qualitative dominant.

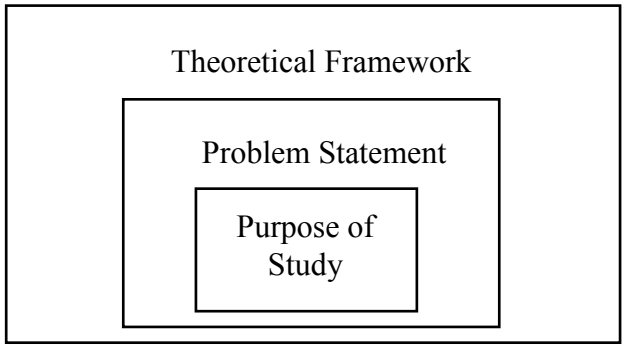
Frisby (2005) pointed out that the majority of sport management research is done using the positivist paradigm but questioned its effectiveness. She maintained that "conducting critical sport management research requires a different skill set compared with traditional approaches to research…" (Frisby, 2005, p. 5). Zakus, Malloy, and Edwards (2007) argued that sport management research needs to have high levels of critical thought and inquiry to understand how people make sense of process. Frisby, Reid, Millar, and Hoeber (2005) called for more "participatory forms of research" where "researchers seek to understand the lived experience of those involved in, affected by, or excluded from various forms of sport and physical activity…" (p. 367). To fully capture the benefits of this kind of research, the authors recommend setting the research questions, building trust with the participants, qualitatively collecting and analyzing data, and communicating results for action. "A participatory research process represents a significant departure from the dominant research paradigm in sport management in which researchers largely control the process with little or no input from research participants" (Frisby et al., 2005, p. 382). These and other writers in the field of sport management have promoted the the idea that social constructivism is not only appropriate for qualitative research, but specifically for qualitative sport management research.

Theoretical Framework in Qualitative Research

Debate amongst scholars exists about the positioning of theoretical framework in qualitative research (Anfara Jr & Mertz, 2014; Manning, 1992; Maxwell, 2012; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Peshkin, 1993). In quantitative research, theories are empirically tested to produce generalizable results. In qualitative research, proving—or disproving—theory is not the primary goal. Merriam and Tisdell (2015) acknowledged that qualitative research is "designed to inductively build rather than to test concepts, hypotheses, and theories" (p. 64). As such, earlier commentary on qualitative research discounted the role of theory in research design. However, this practice led to a critique of qualitative research for not using theory to guide research design and led some to incorrectly ascertain that theoretical frameworks were not necessary to conduct qualitative research (Anfara Jr & Mertz, 2014; Peshkin, 1993).

Maxwell (2012) indicated that effective qualitative research designs balance the use of existing theories while also remaining cognizant of the new theory that one's research can uncover. The goal is to "develop or borrow theories and continually *test* them, looking for discrepant data and alternative ways (including the research participants' ways) of making sense of the data" (p. 53). Moreover, Merriam and Tisdell (2015) posited that "theory is present in all qualitative studies because no study could be designed without some question being asked …the theoretical framework is derived from the orientation that [researchers] bring to [their] study, and every study has one" (p. 66). The authors also offer a visual depiction of the positioning and role that theory plays in qualitative research.

Figure 3.2. Role of Theory in Qualitative Research (as depicted in Merriam & Tisdell, (2015))



To answer my questions, I primarily utilized identity theoretical frameworks and to a lesser degree, the athlete identity theory framework. Collectively, these frameworks provided the foundation for contextualizing my problem statement and formulating the corresponding research questions.

Using the aforementioned theoretical frameworks as a baseline for my study will ultimately advance the sport management discipline, which is, to some degree, still in its infancy (Chalip, 2006; Costa, 2005). Advancing the sport management discipline requires two main endeavors. First, testing both the relevance and applicability of existing theories from other disciplines on sport management, and second, developing subsequent theories that are unique to sport phenomena (Chalip, 2006). This study was designed to do both; explore the extent to which the student and athlete identities influence the motivation of alumni-athletes from selective institutions to give to the alma maters' athletic departments, and employ the literature on identity theory and philanthropy in higher education as the basis to examine this question.

Categories and Types of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is utilized in a wide range of academic disciplines. As a corollary, different disciplines seek answers to different questions, all which require changing qualitative research types and strategies (Merriam, 2002). Peshkin (1993) provided a detailed list of qualitative research types and categories: description, interpretation, verification, and evaluation. The present study is interpretive in nature as it sought to identify the insights and motivations for why alumni-athletes from selective institutions choose to support their alma maters' athletic departments. The outcomes of an interpretive study are primarily to explain, develop new concepts, and clarify and understand complexities (Peshkin, 1993).

While interpretive in nature, the present study also takes the form of a bounded case study. A case study focuses on a bounded system—like a social unit or a particular institution—and examines a specific phenomenon in depth at that unit (Barratt, Choi, & Li, 2011; Yin, 1994). Case studies are often referred to as bounded systems. These studies focus on a unit that is specifically chosen because it has the unique characteristics to answer the research questions (Barratt et al., 2011; Merriam, 2002). Once the bounded unit is selected, case studies are often combined with other types of qualitative research. Yin (1994) pointed out that in case study research, in contrast to other types of qualitative research, the researcher needs to identify a theoretical framework at the beginning of the study, since the theoretical framework will dictate the research questions, analysis, and understanding of the findings. This study adheres to Yin's (1994) directive. Consequently, it finds its foundation in theoretical frameworks—primarily identity theory—and is classified as an interpretive and exploratory case study.

Selected Case Study Unit Characteristics

This case study was conducted at the University of Chicago. The University of Chicago is a highly selective Research I institution with a liberal arts curriculum. It typically receives approximately 30,000 undergraduate applications and has an acceptance rate of around 8% and its tuition, room, and board are approximately $67,000 annually. It is ranked in the *U.S. News & World Report* Top 5 National Universities and enrolls approximately 5,500 undergraduate students and 10,000 graduate students. Founded in 1890, it has over 200,000 alumni worldwide. The University of Chicago is currently engaged in a $4.5 billion dollar capital campaign and its advancement office—with roughly 400 employees worldwide—works to raise money for various university initiatives. Its endowment is approximately $7 billion dollars.

The University of Chicago athletics program maintains membership in the NCAA's Division III. Whereas at most Division III institutions, student-athletes represent almost a quarter of the student body, at the University of Chicago, they only represent 10%. In total, there are approximately 520 student-athletes equating to nearly 10% of the student population. The athletic program operates 19 varsity sports and recently finished 12th nationally in the Learfield Directors' Cup standings. The Learfield Directors' Cup is an influential athletics program that ranks institutions on their collective athletic success. The University of Chicago is also a member of the University Athletic Association Conference, an athletic conference comprised of academically selective Division III major research institutions in large, metropolitan areas.

Sample Selection

As the goal of quantitative research is generalizability, it relies heavily on probability and random sampling. In contrast, because qualitative research often examines a specific phenomenon in a specific context, nonprobability sampling is utilized (Manning, 1992; Maxwell, 2012; Merriam, 2002; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The primary goal of purposive sampling is to select groups or participants that meet criteria established by the researcher to best answer the research questions (Huck, Cormier, & Bounds, 1974; Maxwell, 2012). Mixed methods studies inherently feature aspects of quantitative and qualitative sampling techniques. In general, "[mixed methods] sampling strategies involve the selection of units or cases for a research study using both probability sampling (to increase external validity) and purposive sampling strategies (to increase transferability) (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p. 78).

More specifically, mixed methods studies sampling techniques vary depending on where on the mixed methods continuum the study falls(see Figure 3.1 (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). In a qualitative dominant mixed methods study, the researcher uses "sampling techniques that yield

information rich cases" that, when combined with the study's quantitative aspect, "allows the [mixed methods] researcher to generate complementary databases that include information that has both depth and breadth regarding the phenomenon under study (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p. 85). As stated above, the present study is qualitative dominant, and thus, used a specific form of purposive sampling. The type of mixed methods purposive sampling used was stratified sampling, a basic type of mixed methods sampling for qualitatively heavy research (Teddlie & Yu, 2007).

Stratified sampling is used when the researcher divides a population into subgroups based on particular characteristics (stratification). The researcher then uses stratification to reveal certain cases to study more intently. "The stratified nature of this sampling procedure is characteristic of probability sampling, whereas the small number of cases typically generated through it is characteristic of purposive sampling" (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p. 90). Using this technique, the researcher first divides the groups into strata and "then selects a small number of cases to study intensively within each strata based on purposive sampling techniques. This allows the researcher to discover and describe in detail characteristics that are similar or different across the strata or subgroups" (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p. 90). This technique was central to the current study, as I stratified my research subjects into specific groups to survey based on their giving histories (quantitative aspect) and then used the survey results to conduct subsequent interviews with subjects in each strata (qualitative aspect).

Teddlie and Yu (2007) pointed out that mixed methods research often examines certain cases or units. In a case study, two levels of sampling are needed. First, the bounded unit is selected. The University of Chicago was chosen for two primary reasons: 1) it is a highly selective institution and therefore fits the institutional criteria necessary to answer my research

questions. 2) I was formally employed with the University of Chicago advancement team from October 2014-November 2015 and therefore, my role and professional relationships provided me with access to alumni-athlete giving records. Though I am no longer employed there, I collaborated with the Senior Associate Vice President for Alumni Relations and Development who agreed to provide me with access to the alumni giving database and allowed me to conduct surveys and subsequent personal interviews with University of Chicago alumni-athletes from different donor segments.

Approximately 5% of University of Chicago alumni-athletes donate to its athletics department (R. Turpin, personal communication, May 27th, 2016). To strengthen my research findings, I made every attempt to ensure that my study population was diversified in characteristics such as graduation year, racial ethnicity, gender, sport, donation designation, and donation frequency. I will present more specific information about the logic of my stratification sampling procedure, survey dissemination, and interview process next.

Survey and Scale

Yukhymenko–Lescroart (2014) developed the Academic and Athletic Identity Scale (AAIS) that was utilized in the initial quantitative portion of this study. The author used this 11-item scale in her own research where she provided evidence of the scale's reliability and validity. I was granted written consent by her to use this scale for the present study. Each survey recorded graduation year, sport(s) played, academic major, racial ethnicity, and gender. The AAIS scale was made available as an online survey tool and distributed via email to the following seven segments of alumni-athletes who attended the University of Chicago between 1955 and 2016.

1. Alumni-athletes that have never made a gift
2. Alumni-athletes that have solely supported athletics (2 gifts or fewer)

3. Alumni-athletes that have solely supported athletics (3 gifts or more)
4. Alumni-athletes that have solely supported the academy (2 gifts or fewer)
5. Alumni-athletes that solely supported the academy (3 gifts or more)
6. Alumni-athletes that have supported both the academy and athletics (2 gifts or fewer)
7. Alumni-athletes that have supported both the academy and athletics (3 gifts or more)

The scale was specifically chosen for the following reasons. First, the scale allowed me to simultaneously gauge both student and athlete identities, as opposed to using one scale for athlete identity—like the AIMS—and another scale for student identity. Using two different scales would have required a standardization process that would have complicated accurately measuring—and comparing—student-athlete identities. Second, the scale has not been tested on alumni-athletes from selective institutions. Given that these types of alumni-athletes are potentially high prospective donors, such data could prove useful in providing clarity as to which type of identity has greater influence on giving. Lastly, the scale sought to gauge levels of identity based on the premise that student-athletes can have dual identities. Said differently, other scales (the AIMS, for example) do not account for the fact that their subjects—given the social context—have varying levels of identity salience to their respective identities. The AAIS scale is meant to simultaneously—and equally—measure student-athletes identities while accounting that student-athletes can and do maintain dual identities.

Data Collection and Analysis

The focus in this section will be on qualitative data collection and analysis, as my study was qualitative dominant. There are three major sources of data that are typically utilized in qualitative research: interviews, observations, and documents (Merriam, 2002). One of the primary data collection tools in an interpretive, qualitative case study is interviewing (Manning,

1992; Merriam, 2002). Face-to-face personal interviewing is advantageous because it allows for deep exploration of the topics and allows the researcher the "ability to experience the affective as well as cognitive aspects of the respondents' responses, and depth of understanding gained" (Manning, 1992, p. 92). Interviewing is also the only way that a researcher can gain information or a description of why and how certain actions or events took place in the past (Maxwell, 2012). More specifically, semi-structured interviewing is preferred so as to strike a balance between overstructuring the interview with assumptions and understructuring the interview so that it lacks focus and does not gather relevant data (Manning, 1992). Ideally, "the largest part of the interview is guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, and neither the exact wording nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time" (Merriam, 2002, p. 13). Semi-structured interviews have suggested questions but there is flexibility and openness to alter the order of questions, which allows the interviewer to ask probing, clarifying, or general follow up questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Additionally, the use of semi-structured interviews allows for a more thorough analysis of donor behavior and motivation (Wastyn, 2009). In sport management research, interviewing "…is a core data collection procedure within qualitative inquiry in sport" and "forms the cornerstone of qualitative data in sport management research" (Biddle et al., 2001, pp. 793, 795). Interview questions are designed to capture the rich, thick descriptions central to the qualitative approach and are also guided by the theoretical framework of the study (Manning, 1992; Maxwell, 2012). Consequently, this study used semi-structured interviews. The interview guide is available in Appendix A. The questions were derived from identity theory literature, as well as from literature on student-athlete development and philanthropy in higher education.

To formulate the interview questions, I utilized the aforementioned theoretical frameworks, my own experiences as a University of Chicago alumni-athlete, and my professional fundraising experience. As a frontline fundraiser, my primary role is to coordinate and conduct in-person meetings with university alumni, parents, and friends. In these meetings, my work mirrors that of a exploratory, qualitative researcher. I also designed my questions to elicit hints, cues, or insights into *how* and *why* both student and athlete identities were formed, how they co-existed, and ultimately how the identity formation process influenced giving behavior.

Additionally, given my own experience as a University of Chicago University of Chicago student-athlete, I developed these questions to elicit information on how external signals—from the institution, a peer, a professor, a coach, an academic advisor, etc.—shaped one's internal set of identities. The questions also allowed me to determine for those alumni-athletes that adopted one identify over the other, what influences and processes shaped this outcome. Using the question guide, I interviewed University of Chicago alumni-athletes about their undergraduate experience and where their identify affinity was located. I also probed to determine which facet of their identity they found most salient.

Maxwell (2012) stressed the importance of analyzing one's data immediately after finishing interviewing. I audio recorded my interviews and had them transcribed. I read each transcript, as well as listened to the audio recording. From this review, I developed initial thoughts to code and categorize recurring themes. This method of analysis is the primary strategy in qualitative research (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Maxwell, 2012). When forming coding categories, Maxwell (2012) offered three different types of categorical analysis buckets: organizational, substantive, and theoretical. Organizational categories serve to pragmatically

organize and order one's data. Substantive categories are usually descriptive in nature and reflect what the researcher believes is happening and theory is developed concurrently. Finally, theoretical categories "place the coded data into a more general or abstract framework" and may be derived from previously established theory (p. 108). While using the theoretical underpinnings of identity theory to frame my research question, this study will employ substantive categories for ultimate analysis.

Substantive coding was most appropriate in this study for two primary reasons. First, substantive coding categories are often formulated by open-coding of the data. Maxwell (2012) explained that codes can be specifically developed to capture new and emerging insights and refers to this process as open-coding. Open-coding "involves reading the data and *developing* your coding categories, based on what data (including the participants' terms and categories) seem most important. Coding labels data segments and groups them by category; they are then examined and compared, both within and between categories" (2012, p. 107). Secondly, this type of coding puts data into themes, than theoretical concepts. These categories "can be used in *developing* a more general theory of what's going on, but they don't *depend on* this theory" (Maxwell, 2012, p. 108). The categories I determined enabled me to interpret my findings through an interpretive lens and through the participant's constructs and their sense of meaning.

Saturation

Manning (1992) indicated that interviews should be conducted until the researcher hears redundant and repetitive information. At this point, the data becomes saturated. Some literature on saturation has focused on determining an actual number of interviews that need to occur before saturation is achieved. Guest, Bunce, and Johnson (2006) found saturation after 12 interviews. Francis et al. (2010) proposed a "10+3" model where a researcher conducts a

minimum of ten interviews and then three consecutive interviews with no new emerging themes before the data becomes saturated. Saturation has also been discussed in sport management literature and Biddle et al. (2001) warned that performing too many interviews could increase the chance of error in research findings. In light of this literature, I conducted 18 semi-structured interviews with University of Chicago alumni-athletes. My aim in selecting interview participants was to ensure I had representatives from each segment and that my interview pool was as diversified as possible in regards to sport(s) played, graduation year, gender, and racial ethnicity. As such, I reviewed the list of alumni-athletes willing to be interviewed and planned my outreach to them accordingly.

Addressing the Constructs of Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research

Guba (1981) indicated that qualitative researchers have dealt with issues of reliability and validity by incorporating an element of trustworthiness into qualitative research studies. He also indicated that the trustworthiness of qualitative research is often questioned by quantitative research—which inherently operates from the positivist paradigm. In large part, this critique surfaced because terms *reliability* and *validity* appeared first in quantitative research (Guba, 1981). However, Golafshani (2003) indicated that these constructs are viewed differently by qualitative researchers. He indicates that qualitative researchers utilize constructs like precision, credibility, and transferability to account for reliability and validity. In an overview of qualitative inquiry, Shenton (2004, p. 64)—referencing Guba's (1981) study—defined and detailed how qualitative research addresses validity and reliability by focusing on four research traits:

1. credibility (internal validity)
2. transferability (external validity/generalizability)
3. dependability (reliability)

4. confirmability (objectivity)

In a way, these four constructs demonstrate the qualitative research manifestation of reliability and validity. Below, each construct is addressed in relation to the study at present.

Credibility (Internal Validity)

One prominent strategy for ensuring credibility in a qualitative study is establishing an intimate familiarity with the "culture of participating organizations before the data collection dialogues take place" (Shenton, 2004, p. 65). In light of this, it is advantageous that as the primary researcher I have a deep institutional knowledge of both University of Chicago and its alumni-athletes. As a former University of Chicago student-athlete, I share a similar background and experiences and these shared traits enhanced the study's credibility, and therefore its internal validity (Shenton, 2004).

Another key strategy for enhancing credibility is to ensure honesty, transparency, and trust with study participants (Maxwell, 2012; Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Shenton, 2004). Rubin and Rubin (2011) maintained that the interviewer is obliged to make the interviewee feel informed, protected, and comfortable. Whitt (1991) supported this notion and reiterated the need for honesty and transparency by explaining to the interview participants how the data will be used. To build camaraderie with one's study participants, the researcher needs to develop an authentic relationship with those interviewed. Maxwell (2012) indicated that what is needed in a qualitative study "are relationships that allow you to ethically gain the information that can answer your research questions" (p. 90). Noting that too much rapport can be detrimental, Maxwell (2012) indicated it is the "kind of rapport, as well as the amount, that is critical" (p. 91). As mentioned above, my former roles allowed me to build trust more quickly with my research participants as well as more effectively communicate the goals of the study, and make the

interviewees feel comfortable. Additionally, my familiarity with the University of Chicago advancement office as well as my own alumni-athlete status proved useful in accessing the relationships necessary for my study. Familiarity with institutional culture, ensuring honesty with participants, and having a shared experience with one's participants all help to establish credibility, and thereby increase internal validity.

Triangulation is another strategy for addressing credibility. Golafshani (2003) indicated that the use of the social constructivist paradigm begets the need for triangulation because the paradigm operates under the premise that people construct reality differently. Having a "wide range of informants" where "individual viewpoints and experiences can be verified against others" is a triangulation strategy that results in "a rich picture of the attitudes, needs or behaviours of those under scrutiny [that] may be constructed based on the contributions of the range of people" (Shenton, 2004, p. 66). As mentioned previously, I collected a wide range of individual viewpoints by ensuring diversity in my participants' demographic characteristics as well as in their giving behaviors, both in designation and in frequency. Additionally, combining multiple research methods—which this study did—is another form of triangulation (Abowitz & Toole, 2009)

Member checking is another strategy for enhancing credibility (validity) in qualitative research (Maxwell, 2012; Shenton, 2004). Member checking involves constantly asking one's respondents for feedback to ensure that the researcher is correctly interpreting the respondent's answers. Such a strategy also helps check researcher bias (Maxwell, 2012).

Transferability (External Validity/Generalizability)

Qualitative research does not seek to generate generalizability to a wider population. That said, qualitative research is concerned with transferability; that is, providing information on and

accounting for the specific research setting so that a study's parameters can be transferred to further scholarly work. For this to occur, the researcher needs to provide "sufficient thick description of the phenomenon under investigation…to allow readers to have a proper understanding of it, thereby enabling them to compare the instances of the phenomenon described in the research report" with those they have seen emerge in other situations (Shenton, 2004, p. 70). Generalizability was not the aim of the present study; however, by thoroughly describing the findings and explaining the text, this study will provide context for studying the student-athlete identity process as well as philanthropic patterns from alumni-athletes at other selective institutions.

Dependability (Reliability)

Debate exists as to the relevancy of reliability in qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003). Some have stated simply that trustworthiness is akin to reliability, while others have stated that ensuring validity inherently ensures reliability (Golafshani, 2003). Shenton (2004) indicated that dependability is ensured by the researcher thoroughly reporting his or her research process, "thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work, if not necessarily to gain the same results" (p. 71). By presenting to the reader detailed aspects of research design and implementation, data gathering and analysis, and candid reflection on the effectiveness of his or her process, the qualitative researcher shores up dependability.

Confirmability (Objectivity)

Shenton (2004) indicated that confirmability lies mostly in the researcher's commitment to objectivity in the research process. The goal of confirmability is to show that the study's findings were the result of the experiences of the interviewees, rather than the result of a biased view of the researcher. While the need for objectivity is important in qualitative work, other

literature has shown that true objectivity is nearly impossible; in fact, researcher bias is interjected into all aspects of qualitative work (Maxwell, 2012; Peshkin, 1988; Whitt, 1991). In qualitative research, the nature of the relationship between the subject and researcher is of the utmost importance. Throughout the interview process, Rubin and Rubin (2011) argued the interviewer's personality inevitably plays a role in the interaction. They stressed the need for self-awareness. As a result, this relationship is not objective because of the human interaction and "quest for truth" researchers possess; researchers "interact and treat respondents as humans, rather than acting as detached spectators and treating participants as mere objects of study (Magolda & Weems, 2002, p. 493). In light of this, Magolda and Weems (2002) maintained that qualitative inquiry was distinct from quantitative inquiry.

Recent literature on qualitative literature touts both an acceptance and commitment to acknowledging the researcher's inevitable involvement and role within the research process (Golafshani, 2003; Malterud, 2001). However, because qualitative research relies on humans to be the primary research instrument—and because bias is inevitable—problems can arise for researchers who seek to remove their own interference with their study (Whitt, 1991). Peshkin (1988) said "one's subjectivity is like a garment that cannot be removed" (p. 17). Peshkin (1988) further argued that the researcher's subjectivity can be advantageous, as it is the researcher's "distinctive contribution" to the data gathering process (p. 18). This intentional acknowledgement of one's research positionality is called reflexivity. Reflexivity occurs when the researcher identifies his or her own preconceptions and beliefs that stem from personal and professional experiences and his or her own beliefs about the motivation for his participants' actions (Guba, 1981; Malterud, 2001). Echoing Peshkin's remarks above, so long as the

researcher is cognizant of his or her reflexivity, it can actually enhance the research process (Malterud, 2001).

As such, I remained cognizant of how my biases and presence might have influenced what my interview subjects communicated to me and how this could affect my study's inferences (Maxwell, 2012). To that point, at the outset of the study I identified several areas that could affect my research findings. First, I was a former member of the University of Chicago advancement staff. Second, I am a University of Chicago alumnus and a former member of the men's varsity basketball team. Third, I am an an active member of the University of Chicago alumni-athlete community and have personal relationships with fellow alumni-athletes and I have also annually supported the athletics department since my graduation in 2007. I explained my research process in details to interviewees, including identifying my current and past roles. In this manner, my position and experiences served to enhance my research process and data gathering endeavors, thereby allowing me to more effectively answer my research questions and ensure my study's confirmability.

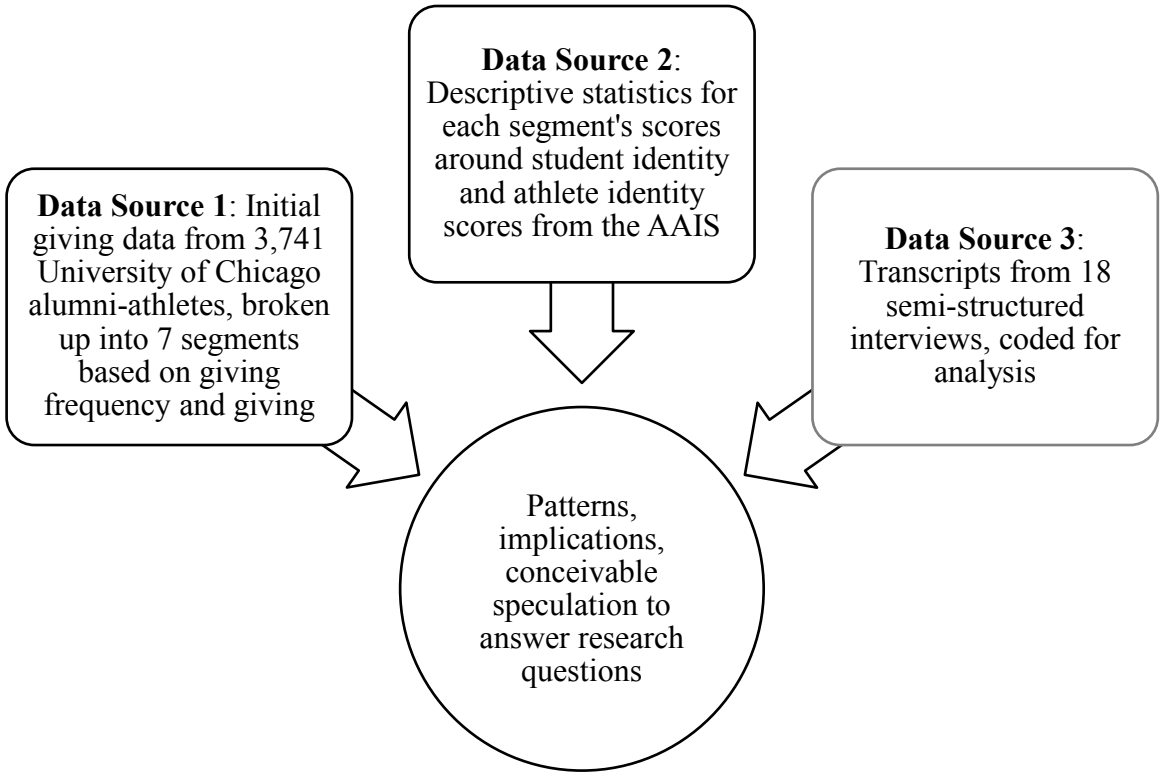
This chapter presented literature on research paradigms in higher education as well as on mixed methods research and outlined its utility and expanding presence in research conducted through the social constructivist paradigm. It also illustrated how mixed methods research operates on a continuum and noted this study is qualitative dominant. The use of semi-structured interviews and subsequent open coding in this bounded and interpretive case study allowed me to most effectively answer my research questions.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The results of the mixed methods, qualitative dominant study are presented in this chapter. Collectively, my aim was to examine three primary sources of data and examine findings in each source while also comparing findings among sources. The first data source was the initial giving data I received from the University of Chicago advancement office which provided me insights into the general giving patterns and designation(s) of University of Chicago alumni-athletes. The second source of data were the results of the AAIS; this data provided me with each segment's average student identities and athlete identities and allowed me to compare identity levels among segments. Finally, the third source of data were my 18 semi-structured interviews. These interviews gave context into the AAIS results and provided details into how the student-athlete experience at University of Chicago impacted varying levels of identity salience to each respective role, which in turn, influenced giving behaviors. During these interviews, I spoke with a subset of alumni-athletes about their perceptions of their athlete experiences to try and determine what impact those perceptions had on identity salience to each role and compared that to overall giving patterns of alumni-athletes. Depicted below is a visual illustration of my data sources and how they interacted to help me answer my research questions, as well as prepared for pattern identification and research implications.

Figure 4.1. Interaction Among Data Sources



The findings from each data source will be presented in the order they are listed. Prior to enumerating my findings, however, a brief history about the University of Chicago athletics department is merited. As mentioned above, this study takes the form of a bounded case study, which typically focuses on a single social institution or unit. Consequently, the unique history of the University of Chicago athletics program is both necessary from a historical perspective, but this history also helps contextualize the results from my three data sources.

History of Athletics at the University of Chicago

Since its inception, the University of Chicago has been known for its academic rigor and has slowly climbed the rankings in the influential *U.S. News & World Report* (*USNWR)* rankings. As of this writing, it currently holds the #3 ranking in national universities, behind Princeton University and Harvard University. The University of Chicago sits in a unique

category of a prominent institution that transitioned from Division I membership to Division III membership.

The University of Chicago opened its doors in 1892. In preparation for its opening, the school hired Amos Alonzo Stagg as its athletics director and football coach in 1890. Stagg actually held his first football practice on October 1, 1892, the day the University held its first class. Stagg was a pioneer in football and is credited with such innovations as the "T" formation, the huddle, the lateral pass, and the center snap as well as the numbered football jersey (Hilbert, 1998). Shortly after the birth of football there, University of Chicago joined the Western Conference in 1896, which ultimately morphed into the original Big Ten Conference. The University of Chicago went onto football prominence and Stagg captured six Big Ten titles from 1899 to 1924. Jay Berwanger, a University of Chicago running back, was the nation's first recipient of the Heisman Trophy. Notably, the institution also was a member of the Big Ten in all sports from 1896-1939. Prior to officially departing the Big Ten in March of 1946, the Maroons won or shared over 70 league championships (Hilbert, 1998). However, what the University of Chicago is most known for in intercollegiate athletics was its decision in 1939 to drop football.

Under the direction of then president Robert Maynard Hutchins, the institution forcefully eliminated the football program because he felt it diluted the school's academic rigor. "In many colleges, it is possible for a boy to win 12 letters without learning how to write one" Hutchins remarked to *The Saturday Evening Post* (Bearak, 2011). Hutchins felt strongly that athletics, specifically football, was an "infernal nuisance" and that the University of Chicago should not simultaneously pursue both academic and athletic success. The institution actually constructed the main library on the very spot of the former 50,000 seat football stadium (Bearak, 2011).

Thirty years later, in 1969, football returned to the University of Chicago, but this time, as a Division III sport. In 1976, the men's teams joined the Midwest Athletic Conference, followed by the women's teams in 1982. In 1987, the University officially joined the newly created University Athletic Association (UAA). A unique conference in Division III, the UAA is comprised of the nation's leading research institutions. These institutions share three commonalities: a location in a major metropolitan area, a strong commitment to institutional research, and a strong belief in the Division III student-athlete model. Fellow institutions in the UAA are: Brandeis University (Boston), Carnegie Mellon University (Pittsburgh), Case Western Reserve University (Cleveland), Emory University (Atlanta), New York University (New York City), University of Rochester (Rochester), and Washington University in St. Louis (St. Louis).

The University of Chicago is not the only school to switch NCAA division affiliations. In fact, some institutions maintain concurrent memberships in two affiliations. Colorado College, for example, is a member of Division III but its hockey team participates at the Division I level. However, this practice is rare, and the University of Chicago stands out as a prominent institution which ultimately made a transformative decision on how it wanted its athletics program to function. The elimination of athletics—and its subsequent rebirth years later—is a well-known story among University of Chicago athletes.

This brief history is important because it helps contextualize the results of this study, specifically in regard to the qualitative analysis. It helps provide greater clarity and meaning around the interview participants' answers and it provides a relevant backdrop for this study's ultimate recommendations to University of Chicago athletic and institutional administrators.

Data Source 1: Initial Giving Data of University of Chicago Alumni-Athletes

Below is a visual table that summarizes the original alumni-athlete giving data provided to me by the University of Chicago Alumni Relations and Development office that delineates giving designation and frequency of the 3,741 alumni-athletes in the database. Listed below are a description of the segment criteria, the number of alumni-athletes that fell into each giving segment, and the percentage of each segment relative to the overall population.

Figure 4.2. Segment Listing from University of Chicago Alumni Relations and Development Office Provided Data

Segment Number	Criteria (Designation and Frequency)	Number of Alumni-Athletes	Percentage of Overall Population
1	Never made a gift	392	10.5%
2	Solely Supported Athletics (2 gifts or fewer)	35	.9%
3	Solely Supported Athletics (3 gifts or more)	16	.4%
4	Solely Supported Academy (2 gifts or fewer)	794	21.2%
5	Solely Supported Academy (3 gifts or more)	1577	42.2%

6	Supported Both Academy and Athletics (2 gifts or fewer)	46	1.2%
7	Supported Both Academy and Athletics (3 gifts or more)	881	23.5%

While not the primary focus of the study, the initial data provided on the 3,741 University of Chicago alumni-athletes provide some noteworthy insights. First, over 10% of the alumni-athletes have never made a gift to any part of the university and just over 1%, irrespective of frequency, have supported solely athletics. In contrast, over 63%, irrespective of frequency, have solely supported the academy and almost 25% have supported both athletics and the academy, irrespective of frequency.

Data Source 2: AAIS Survey Results

Below are the quantitative results from Yukhymenko-Lescroart's (2014) AAIS that was distributed to the 3,741 former University of Chicago alumni-athletes in the seven aforementioned segments. The survey was distributed electronically based on segment, and a copy of this electronic communication can be found in Appendix C. Collectively, the combined response rate was just over 10% (394 responses/3741 possible responses).

The segments are re-listed below, alongside the total number of alumni-athletes that fell into each respective segment, as well as the number of survey respondents in each segment.

Figure 4.3. Segment Listing with Response Rates

Segment	Segment Criteria	Total Number in Segment	Number of Responses	Response Rate
1	Never made a gift	N=392	116	30%
2	Athletics gift, 2 or fewer	N=35	1	3%
3	Athletics gift, 3 or more	N=16	4	25%
4	Academy, 2 gifts or fewer	N=794	52	7%
5	Academy, 3 gifts or more	N=1577	64	4%
6	Athletics and Academy, 2 gifts or fewer	N=46	2	4%
7	Athletics and Academy, 3 gifts or more	N=881	155	18%

Presented next will be the descriptive statistics from each segment. Participants were not required to answer each question to move forward in the survey; thus, some questions garnered more responses than others did. While comprehensive results are included in the appendices, the figures below—imported from the Qualtrics survey platform—focus mainly on graphical results

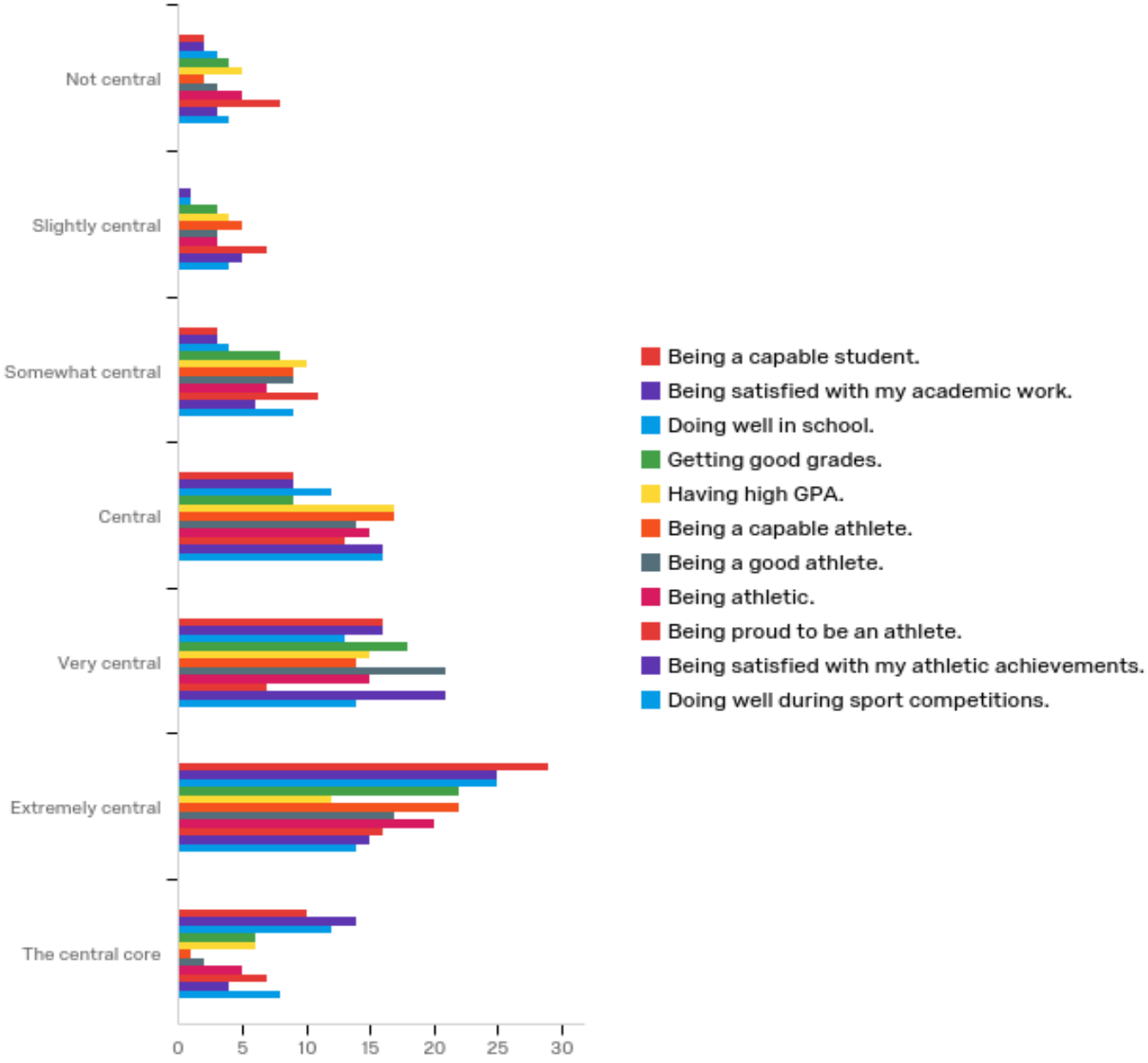
of each segment's AAIS results as well as each segment's descriptive statistics, namely, each questions' average rating for that particular segment. Also presented are some noteworthy insights from each segments' respondents that contextualize the results and help provide the framework for the subsequent qualitative interview analysis.

Prior to presenting this information in detail for each segment, a brief description of the composite variables is merited. The AAIS scale contains 11 items, five of which measure various facets of student identity and six of which measure facets of athletic identity. Each question allows the participant to rate his or her identity on a seven-point rating scale, one being the lowest and seven being the highest. To understand the relative importance of these variables—and to give context to the parameters of each segment's criteria—I combined the scores for student identity questions and athlete identity questions, summed them, and calculated a collective average score for each segment on student identity and athlete identity. For example, in segment one, I combined the scores of the five student identity questions and averaged them, thus calculating a collective average student identity score for segment one participants. Next, for each segment, I totaled the collective averages for both the student identity questions and athletic identity questions, and then averaged those figures. Doing so allowed me to create a composite variable score for student identity and athlete identity for each segment. Composite scores (minimum of 1, maximum of 7) for student identity levels ranged from 4.85 to 6.00, with an overall composite average of 5.12. Composite scores (minimum of 1, maximum of 7) for athlete identity levels ranged from 3.59 to 4.71 with an overall average of 4.49. These scores led me to group the identities into two levels for each respective identity and establish above average and below average categories for each segment. Thus, any segment with a composite student identity score of over 5.12 was labeled above average whereas a composite student identity score

of under 5.12 was labeled below average. Additionally, any segment with a composite athlete identity of over 4.49 was labeled above average and any segment with a composite identity of under 4.49 was labeled below average. In general, it is worth noting that all segments, except segment four, reported higher average student identity scores than athlete identity scores. Finally, below the descriptive statistics table, the average scores of each segment's overall student identity scores and the average scores of each segment's athletic identity scores are presented.

Segment one, alumni-athletes that have never made a gift (377 surveys distributed, 116 responses, 31% response rate)

How central to your sense of who you really are is each of these characteristics?:

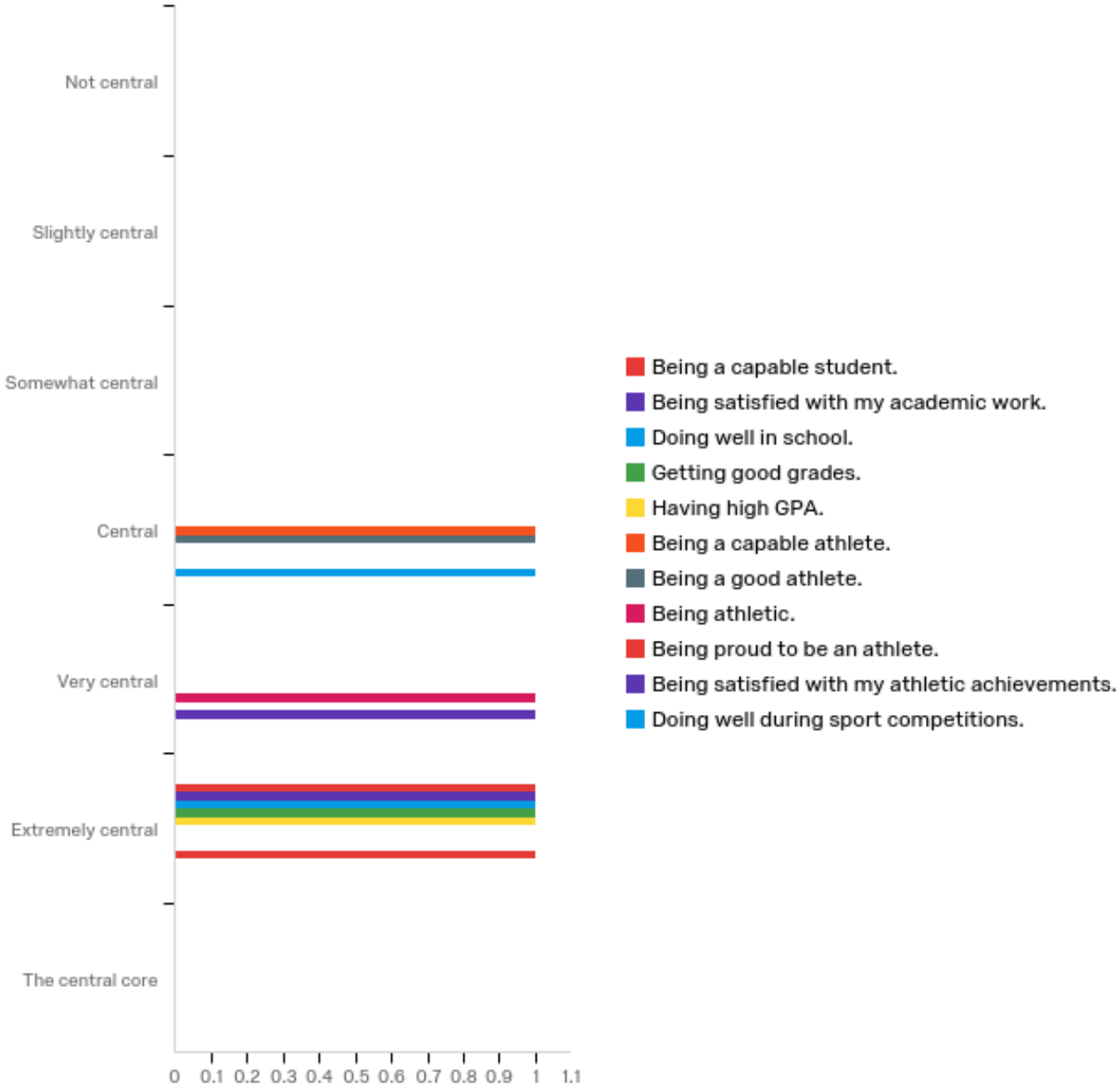


#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Being a capable student.	1.00	7.00	5.38	1.28	1.63	69
2	Being satisfied with my academic work.	1.00	7.00	5.39	1.38	1.89	70
3	Doing well in school.	1.00	7.00	5.20	1.49	2.22	70
4	Getting good grades.	1.00	7.00	4.77	1.58	2.49	70
5	Having high GPA.	1.00	7.00	4.35	1.61	2.60	69
6	Being a capable athlete.	1.00	7.00	4.51	1.41	1.99	70
7	Being a good athlete.	1.00	7.00	4.54	1.40	1.96	69
8	Being athletic.	1.00	7.00	4.60	1.60	2.55	70
9	Being proud to be an athlete.	1.00	7.00	4.16	1.88	3.53	69
10	Being satisfied with my athletic achievements.	1.00	7.00	4.54	1.46	2.13	70
11	Doing well during sport competitions.	1.00	7.00	4.54	1.63	2.65	69

For segment one, the composite mean score for student identity questions was 5.02 (below average). The composite mean score for athlete identity questions was 4.48 (below average but nearly at average). Of note, 55% of respondents were female, and nearly 80% identified as Caucasian. Basketball (16%), Soccer (16%), and Football and Swimming & Diving (12%, respectively) were listed as the top sports for participation.

Segment two, alumni-athletes that have solely supported athletics (2 gifts or fewer), (36 surveys distributed, 1 response, 3% response rate)

How central to your sense of who you really are is each of these characteristics?:

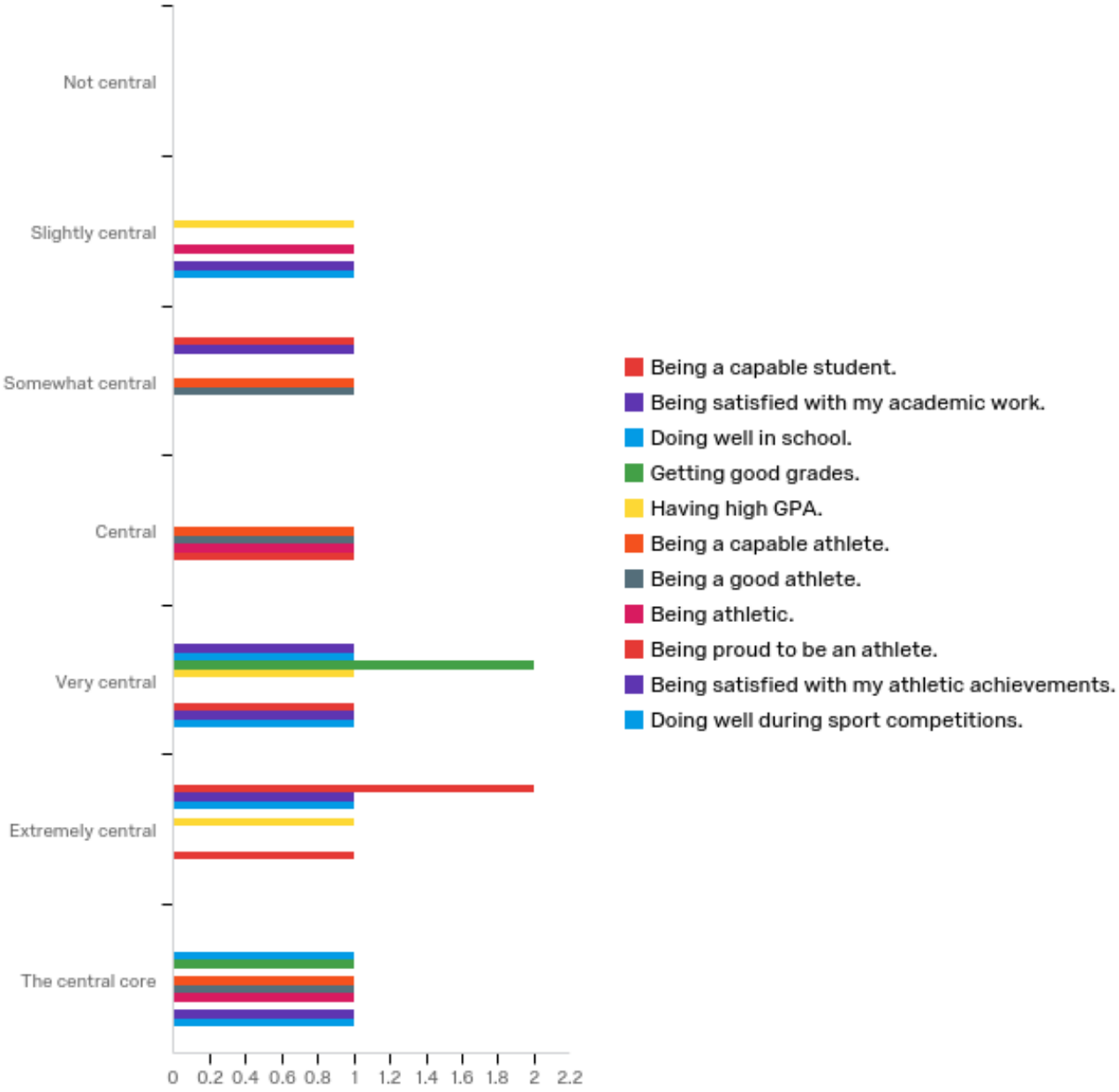


#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Being a capable student.	6.00	6.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	1
2	Being satisfied with my academic work.	6.00	6.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	1
3	Doing well in school.	6.00	6.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	1
4	Getting good grades.	6.00	6.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	1
5	Having high GPA.	6.00	6.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	1
6	Being a capable athlete.	4.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	1
7	Being a good athlete.	4.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	1
8	Being athletic.	5.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	1
9	Being proud to be an athlete.	6.00	6.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	1
10	Being satisfied with my athletic achievements.	5.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	1
11	Doing well during sport competitions.	4.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	1

Segment two was unique insofar as it only had one response. The respondent was a white male that played tennis. He reported average student identity scores of 6.00 (above average) and average athlete identity scores of 4.67 (above average). His scores reflect a higher identity salience to student identity than athlete identity.

Segment three, alumni-athletes that have solely supported athletics (3 gifts or more), (16 surveys distributed, 4 responses, 25% response rate)

How central to your sense of who you really are is each of these characteristics?:

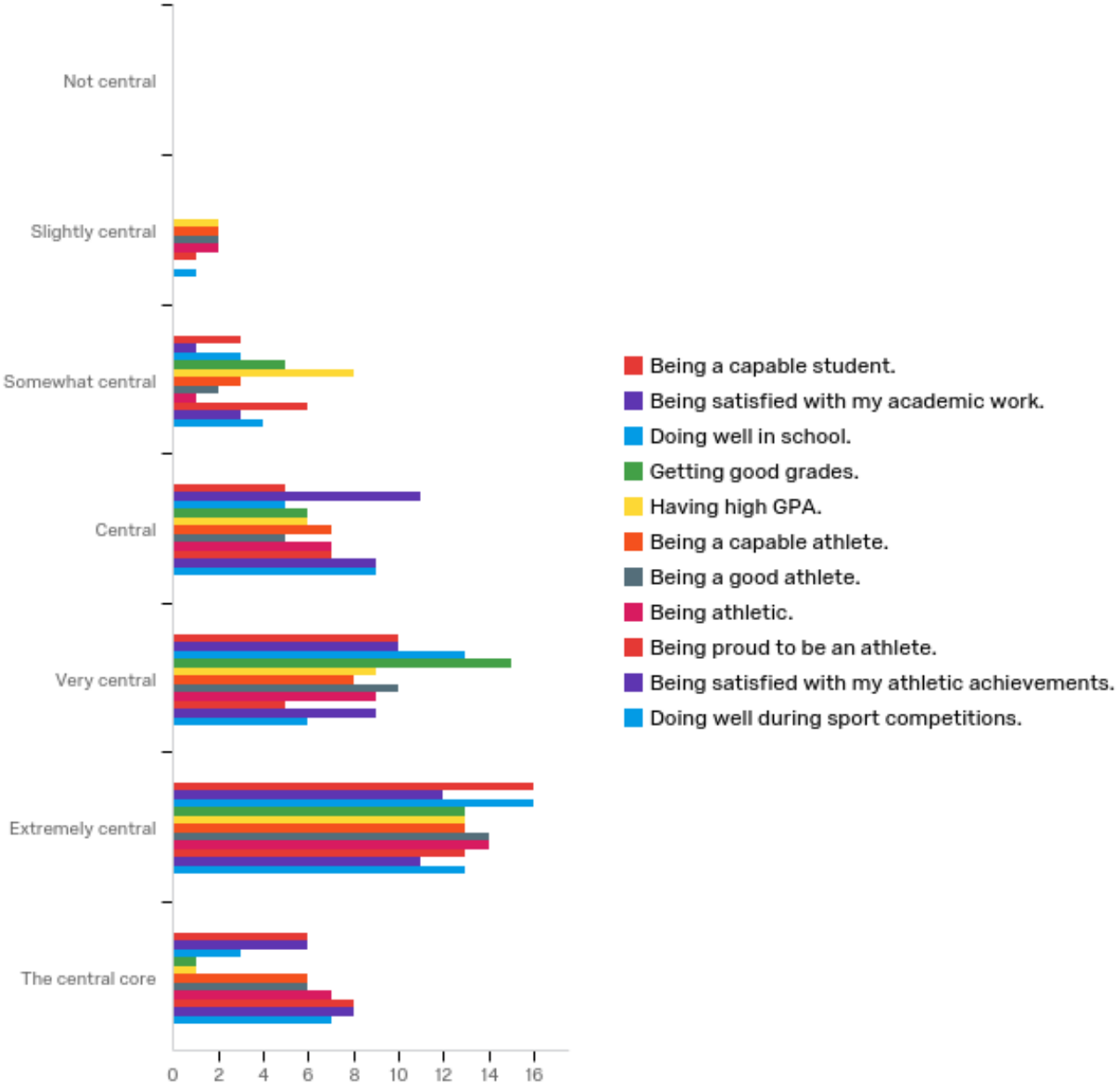


#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Being a capable student.	3.00	6.00	5.00	1.41	2.00	3
2	Being satisfied with my academic work.	3.00	6.00	4.67	1.25	1.56	3
3	Doing well in school.	5.00	7.00	6.00	0.82	0.67	3
4	Getting good grades.	5.00	7.00	5.67	0.94	0.89	3
5	Having high GPA.	2.00	6.00	4.33	1.70	2.89	3
6	Being a capable athlete.	3.00	7.00	4.67	1.70	2.89	3
7	Being a good athlete.	3.00	7.00	4.67	1.70	2.89	3
8	Being athletic.	2.00	7.00	4.33	2.05	4.22	3
9	Being proud to be an athlete.	4.00	6.00	5.00	0.82	0.67	3
10	Being satisfied with my athletic achievements.	2.00	7.00	4.67	2.05	4.22	3
11	Doing well during sport competitions.	2.00	7.00	4.67	2.05	4.22	3

For segment three, the composite mean score for student identity questions was 5.13 (above average, nearly at average). The composite mean score for athlete identity questions was 4.67 (above average). Of note, 75% of respondents were male, and 75% identified as Caucasian. Basketball (25%), Football and Swimming & Diving (25%, respectively) and Tennis (25%) were listed as the top sports for participation.

Segment four, alumni-athletes that have solely supported the academy (2 gifts or fewer), (799 surveys distributed, 52 responses, 7% response rate)

How central to your sense of who you really are is each of these characteristics?:

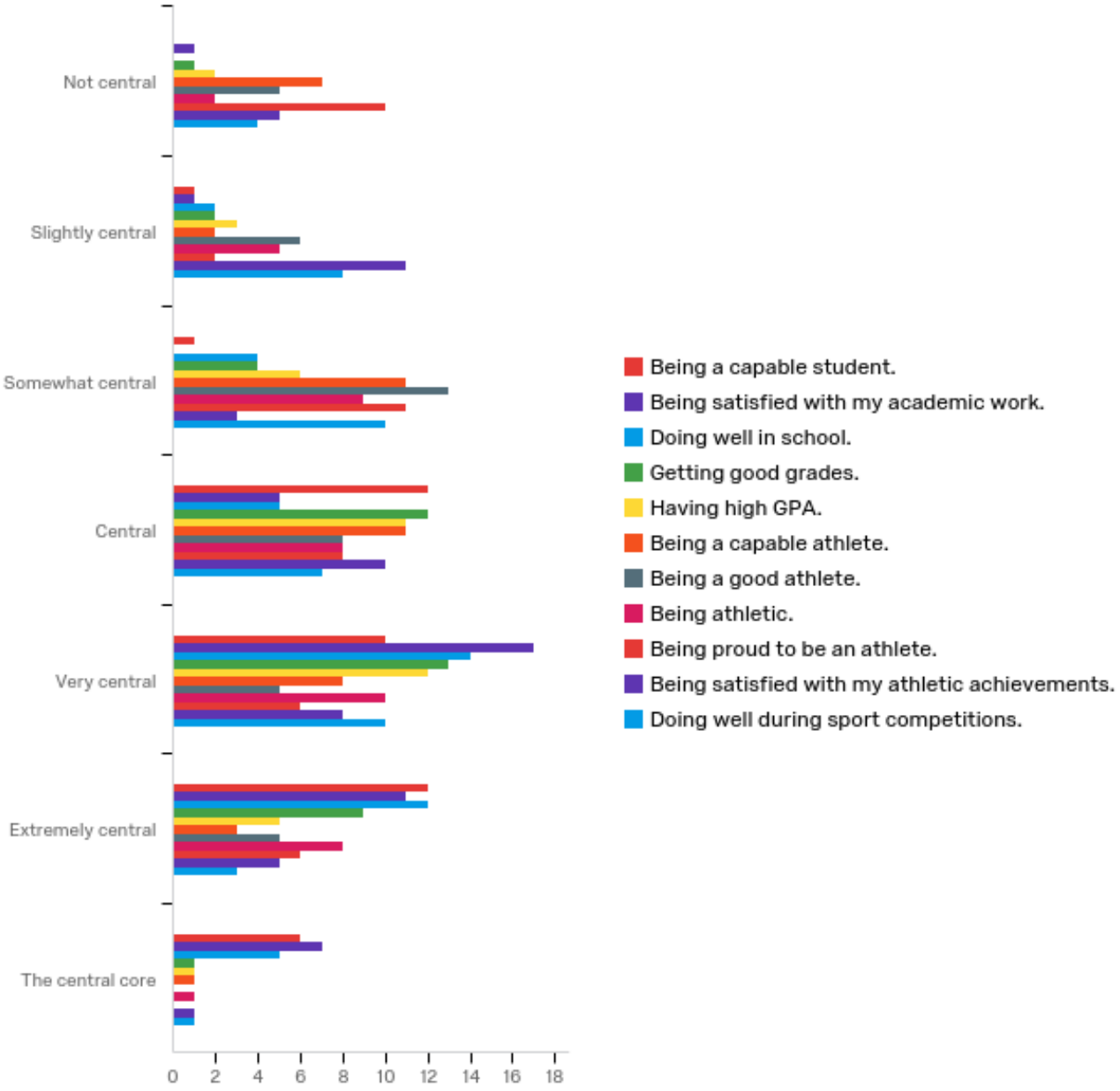


#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Being a capable student.	3.00	7.00	5.42	1.12	1.24	40
2	Being satisfied with my academic work.	3.00	7.00	5.28	1.10	1.20	40
3	Doing well in school.	3.00	7.00	5.28	1.02	1.05	40
4	Getting good grades.	3.00	7.00	4.97	1.04	1.07	40
5	Having high GPA.	2.00	7.00	4.67	1.33	1.76	39
6	Being a capable athlete.	2.00	7.00	5.15	1.37	1.87	39
7	Being a good athlete.	2.00	7.00	5.28	1.30	1.69	39
8	Being athletic.	2.00	7.00	5.33	1.29	1.67	40
9	Being proud to be an athlete.	2.00	7.00	5.17	1.45	2.09	40
10	Being satisfied with my athletic achievements.	3.00	7.00	5.30	1.23	1.51	40
11	Doing well during sport competitions.	2.00	7.00	5.17	1.36	1.84	40

For segment four, the composite mean score for student identity questions was 5.12 (at average). The composite mean score for athlete identity questions was 5.23 (above average). This segment was the sole segment where athlete identity was higher than student identity. Of note, 56% of respondents were female, and nearly 88% identified as Caucasian. Swimming & Diving (16%) and Basketball, Football, Track & Field, and Soccer (14% respectively) were listed as the top three sports for participation.

Segment five, alumni-athletes that solely supported the academy (3 gifts or more), (1581 surveys distributed, 64 responses, 4% response rate)

How central to your sense of who you really are is each of these characteristics?:

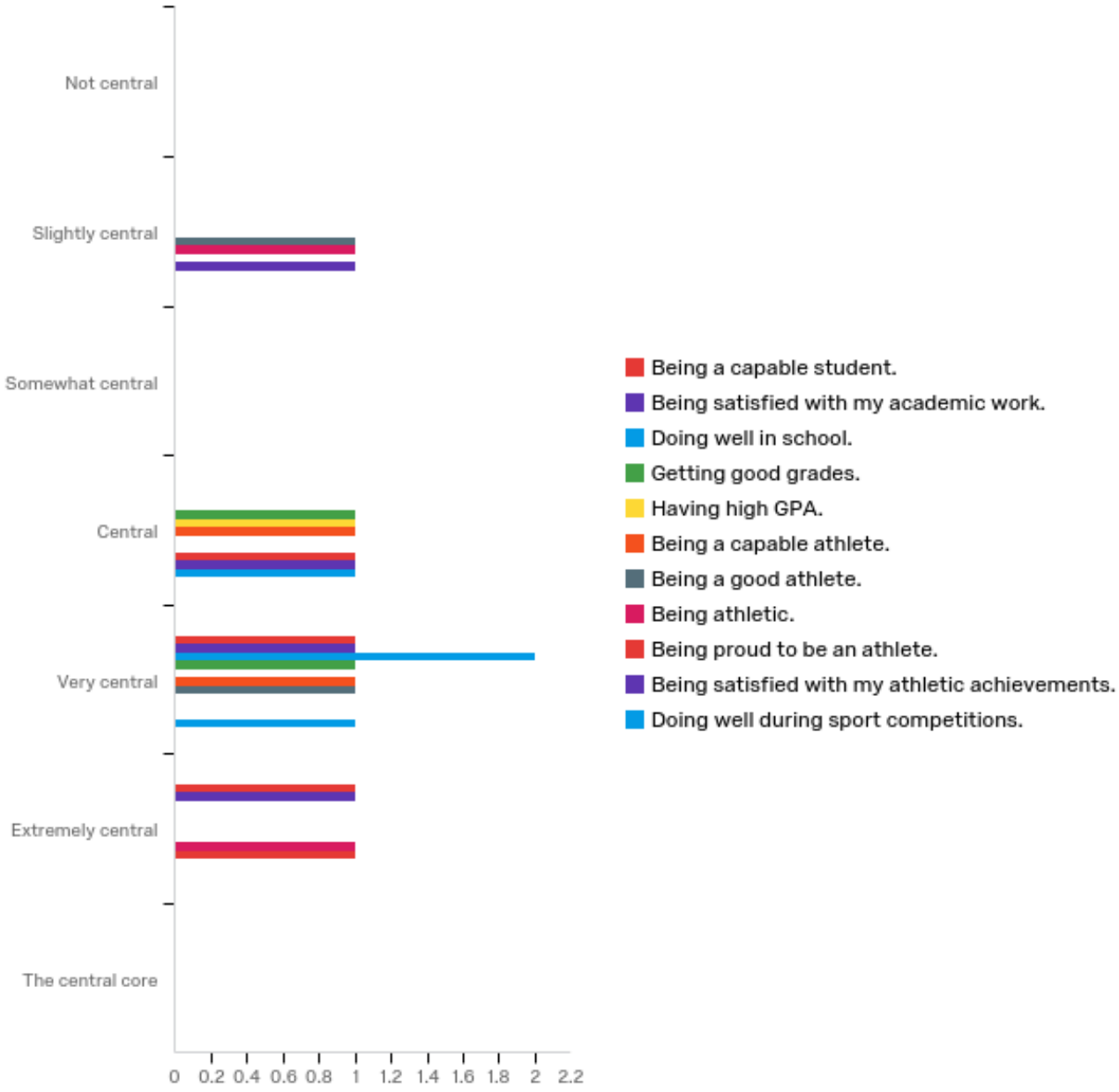


#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Being a capable student.	2.00	7.00	5.17	1.19	1.42	42
2	Being satisfied with my academic work.	1.00	7.00	5.31	1.24	1.55	42
3	Doing well in school.	2.00	7.00	5.07	1.30	1.69	42
4	Getting good grades.	1.00	7.00	4.55	1.26	1.58	42
5	Having high GPA.	1.00	7.00	4.17	1.38	1.89	40
6	Being a capable athlete.	1.00	7.00	3.56	1.54	2.39	43
7	Being a good athlete.	1.00	6.00	3.40	1.48	2.19	42
8	Being athletic.	1.00	7.00	4.09	1.51	2.27	43
9	Being proud to be an athlete.	1.00	6.00	3.37	1.68	2.84	43
10	Being satisfied with my athletic achievements.	1.00	7.00	3.56	1.67	2.80	43
11	Doing well during sport competitions.	1.00	7.00	3.56	1.53	2.34	43

For segment five, the composite mean score for student identity questions was 4.85 (below average). The composite mean score for athlete identity questions was 3.59 (below average). Of note, 63% of respondents were female, and nearly 85% identified as Caucasian. Swimming and Diving and Track & Field (24%, respectively) and Tennis (12%) were listed as the top three sports for participation.

Segment six, alumni-athletes that have supported both the academy and athletics (2 gifts or fewer), (46 surveys distributed, 2 responses, 4% response rate)

How central to your sense of who you really are is each of these characteristics?:

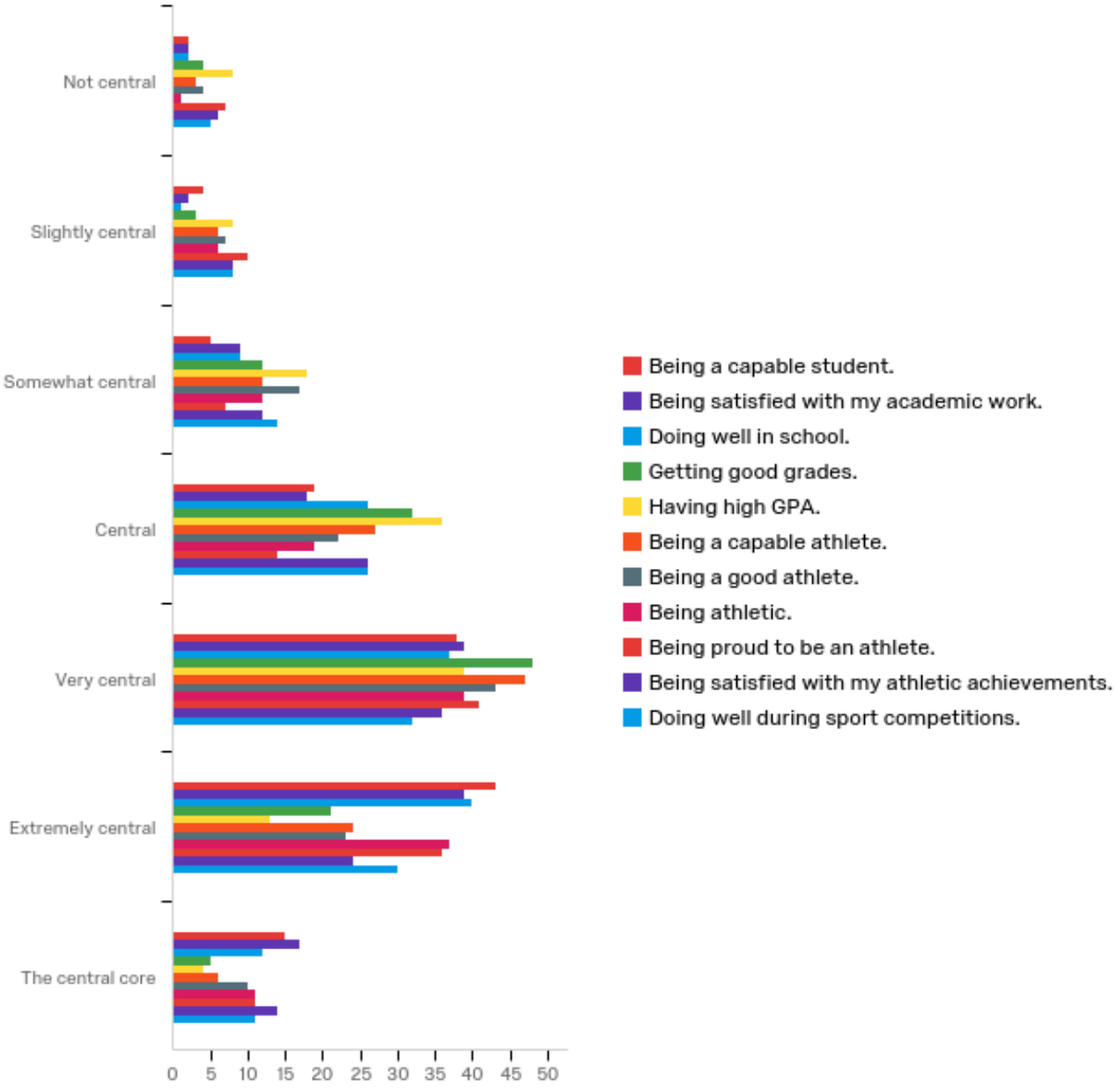


#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Being a capable student.	5.00	6.00	5.50	0.50	0.25	2
2	Being satisfied with my academic work.	5.00	6.00	5.50	0.50	0.25	2
3	Doing well in school.	5.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	2
4	Getting good grades.	4.00	5.00	4.50	0.50	0.25	2
5	Having high GPA.	4.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	1
6	Being a capable athlete.	4.00	5.00	4.50	0.50	0.25	2
7	Being a good athlete.	2.00	5.00	3.50	1.50	2.25	2
8	Being athletic.	2.00	6.00	4.00	2.00	4.00	2
9	Being proud to be an athlete.	4.00	6.00	5.00	1.00	1.00	2
10	Being satisfied with my athletic achievements.	2.00	4.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	2
11	Doing well during sport competitions.	4.00	5.00	4.50	0.50	0.25	2

For segment six, the composite mean score for student identity questions was 4.09 (below average). The composite mean score for athlete identity questions was nearly identical, at 4.08 (below average). It is important to bear in mind, however, that segment six had only two respondents. Both respondents were Caucasian white males; one played baseball and one played basketball.

Segment seven, alumni-athletes that have supported both the academy and athletics (3 gifts or more), (882 surveys distributed, 155 responses, 18% response rate)

How central to your sense of who you really are is each of these characteristics?:



#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Being a capable student.	1.00	7.00	5.19	1.28	1.63	126
2	Being satisfied with my academic work.	1.00	7.00	5.18	1.28	1.64	126
3	Doing well in school.	1.00	7.00	5.07	1.22	1.50	127
4	Getting good grades.	1.00	7.00	4.60	1.24	1.54	125
5	Having high GPA.	1.00	7.00	4.15	1.40	1.95	126
6	Being a capable athlete.	1.00	7.00	4.64	1.29	1.67	125
7	Being a good athlete.	1.00	7.00	4.60	1.44	2.06	126
8	Being athletic.	1.00	7.00	4.95	1.32	1.74	125
9	Being proud to be an athlete.	1.00	7.00	4.78	1.59	2.52	126
10	Being satisfied with my athletic achievements.	1.00	7.00	4.63	1.56	2.42	126
11	Doing well during sport competitions.	1.00	7.00	4.63	1.52	2.31	126

For segment seven, the composite mean score for student identity questions was 4.84 (below average). The composite mean score for athlete identity questions was 4.71 (above average). Of note, 57% of respondents were female, and nearly 91% identified as Caucasian. Football and Track & Field (16%, respectively) and Soccer (14%) were listed as the top three sports for participation.

Because the numbers for each segment varied substantially, these figures were not tested for statistically significant differences. Composite variables were calculated and categories of above average and below average were established for simple baseline comparison purposes. For organizational and visual purposes, below is a table that takes together the composite variables for each segment and indicates either an above average or below average rating. Every segment, except segment four, reported higher overall average student identities than athlete identities.

Figure 4.4. Composite Variable Mean Scores for Student Identity and Athlete Identity

Segment	Composite Mean for Student Identity	Above or Below Average	Composite Mean for Athlete Identity	Above or Below Average
1	5.02	Below	4.48	Below
2	6.00	Above	4.67	Above
3	5.13	Above	4.67	Above
4	5.12	At Average	5.23	Above
5	4.85	Below	3.59	Below
6	4.09	Below	4.08	Below
7	4.84	Below	4.71	Above

Data Source 3: Semi-Structured Interviews

Interview Selection

I used the Qualtrics survey platform to disseminate the AAIS to the segmented University of Chicago alumni-athlete population. By going through the Qualtrics technical support, I was able to attach a secondary survey where I polled survey participants who, upon completing the AAIS, were prompted to document their willingness to be contacted for a subsequent interview, either in person or over the phone. From the seven segments (N=3741), 184 University of Chicago alumni-athletes indicated to me they were willing to be interviewed (5% of participants across segments). Below is a listing of my interview subjects' demographic information. Every effort was made to diversify the set of interview volunteers with respect to sport(s) played, graduation year, gender, and racial ethnicity.

Figure 4.5. Interview Subject Demographic Table

Segment	Gender	Graduation Year	Sport(s) Played	Ethnicity
1	Male	1993	Football	White
1	Male	1988	Swimming	White
1	Female	2002	Basketball	White
3	Male	1992	Swimming	White
3	Male	2000	Basketball	White
4	Female	2007	Softball	White
4	Female	2006	Track & Cross Country	Hispanic
4	Male	2017	Basketball	White
4	Female	2016	Soccer	White
5	Female	1989	Soccer	White
5	Female	1984	Soccer	White
5	Female	1989	Soccer	White
6	Male	1999	Baseball	White
7	Female	2009	Soccer & Swimming	White
7	Male	1998	Basketball	White
7	Female	2009	Softball	White
7	Female	1977	Volleyball & Field Hockey	African-American
7	Male	1990	Football	White

Semi-Structured Interview Coding

Based on my results, I contacted a range of alumni-athletes from every segment, taking into account diversity in ethnicity, graduation year, and sport played. The University of Kansas' Institutional Review Board (IRB) granted approval for the project and required I obtain and document oral consent from interview participants. Over a three month period in 2018, I conducted 18 interviews with members of six of the seven alumni-athlete segments (the single survey respondent in Segment two was unresponsive when asked for a phone interview). Each interview lasted approximately thirty-five minutes. Appendix B features a breakdown of the number of interview participants that volunteered to be interviewed in each segment, as well as lists the number of interviews conducted in each segment.

All interviews were performed over the phone using the Tape-A-Call application, which was recommended to me by a transcription agency, and downloaded to my personal iPhone. This application recorded the interview in its entirety and allowed me to name, save, and upload the file into a password protected folder in Google Drive. Recorded audio files were then sent electronically to the transcriptionist company, Cabbage Tree Solutions, for full transcription.

Upon completion of interview transcription, I downloaded the Atlas.ti qualitative software analysis program. I uploaded eighteen Microsoft Word documents into the software package and created a series of fourteen codes, based on the interview transcripts. A complete listing of each code—and what it was designed to capture—is listed below:

- *Academic v. Athletic Success*; captured dialogue around whether athletic success or academic success was valued more
- *Classroom Experience*; captured dialogue around one's experience in the classroom while being a student-athlete
- *Competition Between Academics and Athletics*; captured dialogue around internal competition between athletics and academics
- *Donation Designation and Giving*; captured elements of philanthropic engagement as well as designation of giving
- *Equal Treatment of Sports*; captured dialogue about how the athletics department treated each sports team, in particular through resource or facility allocation as well as perceived support by administration
- *Evolution of Athletics on Campus*; captured dialogue about alumni-athletes' comments regarding the evolution of athletics on campus over the last 20+ years

- *Friend Groups on Campus*; captured dialogue about campus socialization and whether friend groups tended to be fellow student-athletes or other students
- *How Institution Viewed Athletics*; captured dialogue about the alumni-athletes' perception of how the administration viewed its own athletics department
- *Identity Conflict*; captured dialogue on the level of internal conflict student-athletes had in maintaining identity as a student-athlete
- *Internal Support Structures*; captured dialogue regarding the institutional or athletic support structures/programs designed to navigate life as a student-athlete
- *Million Dollar Giving Scenario*; captured answers to hypothetical million-dollar giving scenario and designation(s) of hypothetical gift
- *Recruiting Process*; captured dialogue around recruiting process and ultimate impetus for attendance
- *Proudest Accomplishment*; captured dialogue around proudest accomplishment while a student-athlete
- *Role of Sports in Campus Socialization*; captured dialogue about, in addition to providing a chance to compete, the additional roles sports played during student-athletes' time at University of Chicago

As stated previously, Maxwell (2012) noted the primary strategy for qualitative research categorization is through coding. From these seventeen codes, I formulated five substantive coding categories. I grouped each individual code into these five main primary codes, then organized the subcodes that fell under each primary code. I analyzed the data primarily by comparing codes between different segment types, but also analyzed data in each segment as well, relative to other responses in that segment. Collectively, this open-coding strategy allowed

me to organize the data by recurrent issues and themes but more importantly, allowed me to evaluate *how* and *why* student and athlete identities were formed, how they interacted, and how they ultimately influenced giving behavior in University of Chicago alumni-athletes. A table of the five primary codes is listed below, as are the subcodes.

Figure 4.6. Primary and Secondary Code Categories

Primary Code	**Secondary Codes**			
Athletic v. Academic	Athletic Success v. Academic Success	Competition Between Academics and Athletics	Identity Conflict	Proudest Accomplishment
Academy	Internal Support Structures	How Institution Viewed Athletics	Classroom Experience	
Athletics	Equal Treatment of Sports	Evolution of Athletics on Campus	Recruiting Process	
Social Aspects	Friend Groups on Campus	Role that Athletics Played in		

		Campus Socialization		
Alumni Giving	Donation Designation	$1MM dollar giving scenario		

Presented next are the results of my semi-structured interviews, according to the five primary codes. Based on the coding analysis I present a summary of the findings pertaining to each primary code, accompanied by direct quotes from respondents, illustrative or representative of the general findings. In some instances, I identify quotes that were contrary to the general summary findings, but that were illustrative of a key observation or insight. When quoting material from an interview, I denoted the segment, sport played, gender, and graduation year of that interview participant. Presenting my results this way allows me to use the five main substantive codes as an organizational and grouping tool to see recurrent themes and issues and frame the subsequent discussion in chapter five.

Primary Code: Athletic V. Academic

Collectively, these results provide insights into the competition between athletic success and academic success, and demonstrate the competition between these two areas. As such, issues of identity conflict arose and will also be discussed. Finally, in light of the competition between these two areas, interviewees reflected on their proudest accomplishment at the University of Chicago, and indicated where this accomplishment took place, either in the athletic or academic arena. Some identified more strongly with their identity as student, whereas others identified

more as athlete. Taken together, the quotes below reveal the dynamic of being a student-athlete at an academically selective institution.

> I would say that I identified more as a student and it was only because, once again, I think that the emphasis still was not primarily on athletics the way that it is today. I mean, it was just at the point of where athletics have been reintroduced. There was much more activity within the whole coed— not coed— intramural. There was much more emphasis on intramural sports than I think that there were on the varsity sports. And it just wasn't the type of thing that was as important as if I had gone to a school where I had been recruited to play sports. (female, volleyball, ’77, segment seven)

A younger graduate commented on her perceived competition between her student identity and athlete identity and how it ultimately benefited her:

> They definitely competed. Looking back, I feel like I probably didn't have the maturity to realize that the academics were definitely more important. But obviously, you know, you have to report back to your parents. So, I think that that really kept it in check. So, I would say it was kind of an even split for me. But on the flip side, I think that drive in the organization of being an athlete kind of also helps keep me on track with academics. So, when you know that you have a whole weekend of games coming up, I feel like you study harder during the week to make sure that you can keep everything in balance. So, I would say I prioritize them equally. And yes, they competed for my time. But on the flip side, sometimes the busier you are, the more organized and the more effective become (female, softball, ’07, segment seven).

Some participants revealed not only the internal struggle of maintaining both student and athlete identities, but also commented on the perceived identity they felt the university assigned to them.

> I guess in some ways. I wasn't a very strong student. You know, I wasn't getting As and everything. You know, it was a struggle for me academically and there were times where, you know— There's times where I just wasn't sure I was going to make it through as a student. And so, you know, the conflict is the time management side of things, is like how much time do I put into being a student and how much time do I put into being an athlete. Because in the grand scheme of things, the campus didn't see my grades. They saw me on the basketball court and they knew me as an athlete, as the guy who's a really good basketball player. So, if you didn't put time and effort into that, that is what showed to people and what people saw. But in the backgrounds, it was a lot of stress, and a lot of late nights, and a lot of, you know, quite frankly being really worried about am I going to pass this class, am I gonna do well in this class, well enough?. Really, the conflict was can I keep my grades high enough to continue to be an athlete because, you know, you have to be— You know, there's academic requirements to be an athlete. And you know, that was certainly more of my concern as a student, was can I keep my grades high enough to stay in school more so than anything else (male, basketball, ’98, segment seven).

Others discussed their first impressions on campus as a student-athlete. A baseball player (’99, segment six) reflected,

> At that time, I identified myself…as a ballplayer…At UChicago, you were just another student. Right? That’s first. My classification, my identity as an athlete, it never trumps anyone else. I never got any perks from it. It was just something I did…there was never any disconnect, you know…how it all went in D1…no one ever approached me ‘Oh, that’s the ball-you know, he’s a ball player.’ You know?...There are some people there

> doing other things in other areas that were much better in that discipline or that area than we were as athletes, right?

His comments are illustrative because they demonstrate the dynamics at play in the student-athlete formation process at an academically selective institution like University of Chicago. Student-athletes, though they may have come to UChicago with existing strong athletic identities, were never given any special treatment on campus for their athletic status. In fact, due to the lofty academic accomplishments of their non-athlete peers, their status as student-athletes was often overshadowed. Many felt that their student identities and athletic identities conflicted because of the campus environment, creating a sense of confusion or discomfort. One female member of the basketball team (’02, segment one) remarked:

> It is a little bit of a bubble being an athlete and there are + & - to that. The friends I made in my house freshman year, gave me trouble all the time once we started playing because they never saw me. And there is a little bit of that; I think it exists, and also, I didn’t have any first-hand experience with this, but I definitely saw the some of the *‘you’re just a dumb athlete’* kind of vibe that they probably cultivated in high school for good reason. That part, I was always kind of aware of and was trying to dispel. Obviously, they [non-athletes] didn’t feel good about how they were treated and so most of the athletes that I knew were pretty smart people and pretty great people and they didn’t represent what that label was meaning to represent. I kind of always found myself meeting interesting people outside of athletics too. I had people tell me all of the time, ‘Yah you and your friends are actually really, really nice’…so that really contributed to that ‘those are really smart people, and like am I really supposed to be here?’; because I heard like ‘wow, you’re probably not.’

This idea of nonathletes purposefully viewing student-athletes negatively—and penalizing them for their student-athlete status—was observed in other interviews.

> You know, all the football players were viewed as being stupid and stuff like that. And that's fine, but it was pointed out many of times that the collective GPA of the football team was higher than that of the average student body, you know…we were treated with such disdain I think at that time, you know, it was like you guys were athletes…like we symbolized all the people that used to pick on all the other people that were in college, you know. Like it was their chance to finally get back at us for everything that happened with them, you know (male, football, '93, segment one).

This same student-athlete readily embraced his role as an antagonist:

> You know, it's funny because I didn't felt a lot of like my role as being a white guy from the Midwest— My role was to be there so that every other person who had some minority agenda— I don't mean like minority race wise. I mean like any type of thing you wanna do like women who hate men, you know, like gay and lesbian club which I don't have a problem with, but I was the guy that was there so that all of those people could take out their frustrations on that, our group, you know. That was why I felt I was there. It wasn't fun. I didn't like it, you know. I had a lot of friends…I had a lot of friends who didn't play sports and who were in all sorts of different organizations and different threads of things, but I didn't— You know, I felt that— You know, I had only one role and that's the role that I searched, you know. It was kind of an unfortunate role, but yeah. No, I never felt conflicted about that I had to be all those things. Yeah. (male, football, '93, segment one)

Others referred to the negative perception of athletes on campus.

> There's a little bit of an attitude that, you know, if you were focused on athletics or in a fraternity or sorority, you maybe weren't as strong of a student. But actually, the students who participated in the athletics at least the time I was there had higher GPAs than some of the students who did not participate in athletics (female, soccer, '89, segment five).

One of the major themes that was present in the interview results was the notion of actively avoided disclosing one's athletic status.

> It's funny…it's like none of us wanted to say that we were on like the basketball team or anything when we were in these classes, you know, 'cause you get looked at differently and especially at the school. They're like 'Oh, you play a sport? Like why are you wasting your time playing sports?' I was trying to avoid being like an athlete there. I didn't really talk about it too much…being an athlete, I think we has to write papers on kind of the second language class and how basically like how we would talk around each other as a team versus how we would talk in public…You know, you learn a lot from these students [non-athletes] because 90% of the kids in the class are more intelligent than you and work harder in the classroom probably than you do. So you learn a lot of stuff in them. I didn't feel uncomfortable in any of my classes. Of course I didn't do the readings and stuff which happened, but yeah (male, basketball, '17, segment four).

This same phenomenon occurred when interacting with peers, as a female soccer player ('16, segment four) remarked:

> Like especially freshman year like when I first joined Model UN, there were a couple people that when I first met they— To be honest, they kind of looked down on you if you were an athlete. And then I think they started to realize, okay, like— Then what started to happen was people realized, okay, these people had to get into the school academically

> first and they're actually like incredibly smart and also are just balancing much more than I think that some people can process when, you know— Eventually, you sort of had to earn their respect…It was sort of an uphill battle at least at some point to say like 'Okay, I'm an athlete, but actually deserved to be here.'

A female cross-country runner ('06, segment four) revealed similar feelings, but on a more personal note, as she struggled with her student-athlete identity in front of her own teammates:

> I didn't really think that I could be myself in front of the track kids because a lot of things that I thought were interesting or fun, something that I valued, they thought that it was silly. They would make fun of me; well, not make fun, make fun, they would just couldn't understand why I would do it. Like why do you wear makeup? So then I'd have to explain like I'm not just as naturally beautiful as you and I have to highlight my eyebrows. Stuff like that. So it's just, I think it does it's a pretty common thing in cross country and track, they kind of have that mentality that I know I'm not alone, and I'm not the only person that has felt that way…I felt like I definitely couldn't tell the track girls felt like I was doing with my other friends. Then, as soon as I joined the sorority, the reputation was that I was such a partier.

Not all student-athletes experienced the aforementioned internal conflict. Moreover, not all student-athletes came in with dominant athlete identities, and thus, were not as bothered by the climate on campus for student-athletes. For example:

> But you know, in terms of being a geek or being really intense academically, I was completely comfortable with that because that was really my identity in high school. And I think, you know, swimming and being a varsity athlete in some ways took the edge off that. (male, swimmer, '88, segment one)

I asked my interview participants what their proudest accomplishment was during their tenure at UChicago and whether this accomplishment was athletic or academic in nature. Nearly every former athlete indicated to me that it was simply graduating. “So, I think my ability to hang on and get through and really like get caught up and be successful in academics was what I would say I’m proudest of” (female, softball, ’07, segment four). Another commented:

> I would probably say being a student athlete overall because it’s really hard to do it. And I think unless you’ve done it, few people understand how hard it really is to manage everything, to manage the travel, to manage missing class with professors who don’t care. I don’t know. Like I said, I think most athletes understand the lack of support that there is from outside the athletics community, how hard it is to try to manage a full schedule especially for someone who’s planning on going to grad school. (female, softball,’09, segment seven)

Another commented:

> Gosh I don’t know…graduating! When you look back just at the ability to balance things, we were doing a lot of stuff in between classes and practices, training sessions and traveling so I don’t know that there was ever one particular moment or award. Ultimately like getting through that senior year and having graduated and like having played two sports all four years, that was a lot. (female, soccer and swimming, ’09, segment seven)

One former athlete had a specific academic memory he was most proud of: “And the final exam, whatever quarter it was, but the final exam of whatever biochemistry quarter it was, I got the best score in the class. And I was so proud of that” (male, basketball, ’00, segment three). Finally, upon significant reflection to my posed question, a female basketball player (’02), offered both

an inspirational yet regretful reflection: “I think, I never really gave myself the credit of being there and doing well and ultimately graduating…”

Primary Code: The Academy

This code, along with its subcodes, captured the interview participants’ view on how the academy as a whole, viewed the University of Chicago athletics department and its student-athlete population. Woven in this primary code are subcodes that also capture alumni-athletes’ view on the internal support structures that were in place for student-athletes as well as views of student-athletes’ experience in the classroom with their professors and fellow students.

An overarching theme from my interviews was the collective belief that athletics were treated just like every other extracurricular activity on campus. While this perceived role of athletics on campus parallels that of the Division III philosophy, in this case it came with some negative consequences. As such, many felt that athletics “were not a primary consideration” of the institution (male, swimmer, ’88, segment one). Moreover, “the school really didn’t invest a lot in our student-athletes. I don’t think they cared”(male, football, ’93, segment one). This feeling was candidly captured in one participant’s view:

> It was awful. It was bad back then. I don’t think the school— We could have like all died on the plane crash. I don’t think the school would have cared, you know. It wasn’t good. And the teams were not really what I would consider to be good. You know, my school team would have beaten my college football team like 100 and nothing, you know, like without even trying. (male, football, ’93, segment one)

Some interview participants reflected that the history of athletics at University of Chicago played a likely role in shaping the current administration’s view of the department. As stated earlier, University of Chicago reentered intercollegiate athletics at the Division III level. “You know, it’s

NCAA Division III. It's mandatory that you have these teams and they get the bare minimum. So, you assemble teams to meet the requirements so they didn't get sanctioned by the NCAA. That's what I think happened" (segment one, male, football, '93). In a similar vein, a female cross country runner (segment four, '06) remarked: "They could have done a better job [with athletics]…yeah, I think so and I think that there is a reason why they moved from D1 to D3." A female soccer player in segment five ('89) captured it wholly:

> I think in some of my classes where I was— You know, the program I was in, you had to apply to get into it. So, it was sort of a little bit of an elite program within the University of Chicago and then people would sometimes make comments about football players in a negative way or— You know? And I think it was more comments that maybe people made, but it wasn't that there was anything institutional that's looked at it that way. I think it was more sort of an attitude. I mean, of course, you know the whole history obviously of the Hutchins' era of banning athletics.

The University of Chicago has always been known *for the lack* of support structures it provided for its students. Clearly known for its academic rigor, the University of Chicago is also known infamously by its tagline "Where Fun Comes to Die". The ramifications of the overall lack of support structures provided for the entire student body, let alone for student-athletes, were felt by the interview participants and influenced their views.

> So, the culture in Chicago, right, from the onset, if you're not invested in our own—if you're not intellectually curious from the onset, you're not actively engaged and choose your own adventure, it doesn't matter that interest you bring to the table. You're not gonna make it. And so, that makes sense to me now. But at that time, you know, it was difficult because I felt and I wished that I would have gotten a little bit more

> guidance…Hey look, you're gonna be into a lot of pressure man…(male, baseball, '99, segment six)

Due to the perceived lack of attention given to student-athletes, one participant commented on how she felt the institution views athletics:

> I don't think that there was a lot of peoples that worked for NCAA and like doing Title IX investigations. I think that what they probably should have is student advisor that would cater to athletes could go to if they want to. I never really felt like I could talk with my advisor or anything like that. They did not give any special care or attention to my track or like my travel schedule and when I had to be away from campus so much. (female, cross country, '06, segment four)

Another participant said similarly:

> I don't know if they [the school] made it easy. I don't think we had kind of the same maybe support that there might be more now for students in general. You were just, you know, expected to get to your classes and you did whatever activities you wanted to. I mean, they had some career counseling, but they don't— I don't think they quite had the student resources at all in the `80s that they do today. (female, soccer, '89, segment five)

Interestingly, one of the internal support structures athletes commented on was the support that other current athletes provided.

> I think it's partly because at Chicago, being an athlete I think is a little bit different only because it's a group that's very separate from the university because if you're not an athlete— the support of athletics typically comes from other athletes. It's not generally coming from the rest of the campus community. (female, softball, '09, segment seven)

While some interview participants simply noted their observations that the university—they felt—devalued athletics, others voiced the perceived consequences of this devaluation.

> I'm gonna say if you don't have a lot of support for your athletics, then sometimes it's difficult for the teams to be successful. That was at least my impression. Despite the lack of support, I think that the athletes continue to perform. And so, as a result of their success, I think that— And I could be wrong. I mean, I don't know of studies that have been done or surveys, but it seems to me that as the students became more successful that I think that the university wisely decided that they should support a variety of athletic interests. And if anything, that would also be helpful as far as the overall willingness of people to contribute to the university overall. (female, volleyball, '77, segment seven)

While the majority of interview participants commented on the lack of institutional support for athletics, not all internalized feelings of resentment. Some interview participants commented they were not bothered by the campus climate; in fact, some remarked they were ultimately appreciative of the climate. One former baseball player remarked:

> The only thing I'd just reinforce again was—you know, since you're talking about identity—is how identity kind of transitioned over time. I'm a ball player, you know. I'm also going to school here. By the time I left, how that shifted towards 'No, I'm a student, I'm a graduate of UChicago, and I also played baseball.'…I feel like Chicago prepped me for that nastiness, prepared me to get knocked down, you know, just to keep going at it and really to try to seek out other folks that are also intellectually curious. As I get older, I don't have much time for people that aren't curious. (male, baseball, '99, segment six)

Interview participants indicated that the institution did not place an internal high value on athletics, yet this did not create any animosity among interview participants.

> Like [athletics] brings diversity into our campus…in terms of like the academics and like the arts and things like that, like it definitely brings like that aspect. But I think it's not the primary focus of the institution. It's sort of a complementary department if that makes sense…you have students representing the university and obviously carrying the university name if they do anything bad. It's a little bit more like publicized than some of the other groups on campus, but I would say like it's kind of like a slightly glorified RSO (registered student organization" (female, soccer, '16, segment four).

A male swimmer, ('88, segment one) though, had another take but offered a similar viewpoint:

> I think, you know, what I always said even at that time, Chicago is a place I really have been glad I went to although I didn't necessarily enjoy it that time…It's almost like we took perverse pride in being miserable and, you know, working hard. I get this kind of perverse pride out of that…participating in varsity athletics was a choice I was making. And I was the one responsible for dealing with the consequences of that choice…you know, I bought in to the university's line on this…that it was more about participation than producing elite athletes…"

More telling were remarks from other interview participants indicating they had no reservations about how athletics was viewed by the student body or the institution.

> I believe the old saying—I don't know if it's true—Hannah Gray (President of UChicago from 1978-1993) said that intramural and varsity [sports] are the same thing or maybe somebody else said that, but I think that's true. I think that's fair enough. Frankly, I have no complaints…I think [athletics] are just one of the array of activities that the college offers. (male, swimmer, '92, segment three)

Others felt similarly:

> I thought there was a lot of support for [athletics], you know, in terms of financial support, flying us around. We didn't have good facilities like there are now, but I do think there was support for it. And I did some work in the theater. I thought that the support for the theater was pretty equivalent. I didn't view them as being, you know, inconsistent…athletics is on part with other activities that students were involved in. So, I didn't view it as like taking precedence, but I didn't view as being treated worse or better necessarily" (female, soccer, '89, segment five).

Others offered they felt that while the student body and administration were indifferent to athletics, they were not hostile:

> I don't know how the student body feels about athletics. I mean, I remember there's a few kids that thought it was really cool that you're a basketball player and they're like 'Wow, that's awesome.' But for the most part, you know, I don't know if kids cared that we had athletics. There's a few kids that are fans of sports that will come to games. But student body wise, I don't think they looked at it. I think they're pretty indifferent to it, but the institution itself I think was pretty supportive. (male, basketball, '17, segment four)

From a holistic point of view, one former soccer player and swimmer ('09, segment seven) captured the institutional dynamic at play and also offered insights into what the administration could do moving forward:

> In general I felt supported by the institution, but I think that was coming from the athletic community and that's because I was so closely tied to it. When I look back on it or compare it, like to what I've heard at other places; like at Wash U for example, you have the president coming or some of the higher ups, and I don't know if that would have meant anything to me as a student athlete, but there is something to be said for having the

> full and complete support from different people. I did feel like my professors were supportive I felt I had good relationships there. I think that there is a lot of support around athletics, but I do think that like University of Chicago could grow that a little bit more. But I also think that this is part of the history of the school and their athletics. It is so interesting and convoluted that it leads into this mentality now there.

In addition to gauging student-athletes' view on the perceived level of institutional support for athletics, I also inquired with them about their classroom experiences with both faculty and fellow students. Their answers revolved mostly around how they were identified in classes and in how their professors treated them. "I think that some of the professors have their own ideas about athletes in terms of how smart you actually are, what you're actually doing there, you know, your motivations. Do you actually care? That kind of stuff" (female, '09, softball, segment seven).

One female basketball player ('02, segment one) remarked:

> …there was that basketball player stigma like obviously if you're an athlete you're not really as good as the best person in the class, obviously. It was kind of like I would sometimes hear people say those types of things but there was kind of an undertone.

One participant, a female soccer player ('89, segment five) offered similar thoughts, but contextualized them in the history of athletics at UChicago.

> I think in some of my classes where I was— You know, the program I was in, you had to apply to get into it. So, it was sort of a little bit of an elite program within the University of Chicago and then people would sometimes make comments about football players in a negative way or— You know? And I think it was more comments that maybe people made, but it wasn't that there was anything institutional that's looked at it that way. I

> think it was more sort of an attitude. I mean, of course, you know the whole history obviously of the Hutchins' era of banning athletics…

Other participants were not as gracious in their assessment of the classroom environment:

> You know, all of the football players were viewed as being stupid and stuff like that. And that's fine, but it was pointed out many of times that the collective GPA of the football team was higher than that of the average student body, you know…it was very apparent that we were smarter. We weren't dumb. You know what I mean? But that's the way the school portrayed us, you know. I mean, I don't know. Yeah it was discouraging. We didn't have a lot of success in that. It was important to be successful, but we didn't have a lot of success. (male, football, 1993, segment one)

Some interview participants discussed the classroom dynamic itself and mentioned trying to his his athlete identity to bring a perspective he felt was lacking in the class:

> Being an athlete, I think we had to write papers on kind of the second language class and basically like how we would talk around each other as a team versus how we would talk in public. And so, I wrote a little paper on that, but that was just between the professor and myself. So, it wasn't like something I really discussed too much in class. I kind of just spoke to whatever the concept of the class was and just try to fitting always and give my opinion…you know, a lot of discussion classes would kind of have these abstract concepts they will try to bring in and they wouldn't always bring in kind of real world examples. And I found myself a lot of times in these discussion classes just kind of bringing in more high level, not so in depth kind of points of view that I would kind of would relate to. Yeah, I felt like I fit in to the classes. I mean, obviously, sometimes these kids would say some pretty ridiculous stuff…(male, basketball, '17, segment four)

Another theme that emerged when discussing the classroom setting was the discomfort that was associated with being physically identified as a student-athlete. “Like people were more cognizant of, okay, if I wear normal clothes, perhaps I won’t get tagged as an athlete (female, soccer, ’16, segment four). Similarly, one participant remarked, “It’s like none of us wanted to say that we were on like the basketball team or anything when we were in these classes, you know, ‘cause you get looked at differently…(male, basketball, ’17, segment four).

One former athlete commented oh how she felt she was often immediately lumped in with all other student-athletes, and as a result, had to be cautious of her appearance but also of her initial interactions with her professors:

> Probably I think that where I saw that the most was when I was in a class or just hanging out with friends or when I was doing other stuff. There were times when you felt like you were representing this whole body of people, right, like as an athlete. Right I remember even, this is really silly…like during the first few weeks of a class, and I had to go meet with a professor, I would try not to wear any soccer or swimming gear, just so that the 1st interaction would not be potentially tainted by it – not that it would be but you know that there may be a professor that may not be as favorable to accommodating athletic travel or whatever else there might be; or you would want to eliminate that impression, like you would wear a t-shirt instead of a sweater .. I did find myself doing things like that on occasion…(female, soccer and swimming, ’09, segment seven)

This was not to say that all interview participants felt singled out in the classroom. Others reflected they felt supported throughout their tenure as a student-athlete:

> I personally never felt like— I never had conflict with professors or anything like that as far as like, you know, sort some them sort of looking down on you, if you will, if you

> were an athlete. So, I felt like it was either indifference and people didn't care. And I don't mean that in a bad way…so, it's either indifference or they thought it was pretty cool that you were an athlete. I don't remember ever coming across somebody who felt like I was getting special advantage because I was an athlete or anything like that. Again, I think a lot of that had to do with the success that we had while we were there, is, you know, for the people who even remotely cared…I think the institution was supportive. And you know, all my professors were very supportive…I don't know how the student body feels about athletics. I mean, I remember there'a a few kids that thought it was really cool that you're a basketball player and they're like 'Wow, that's awesome" but for the most part, you know, I don't know if kids cared that we had athletics…I think they're pretty indifferent to it, but the institution itself I think was pretty supportive". (male, basketball, '00, segment three)

Collectively, this section touched on themes around internal support structures provided by the university, how the institution viewed its athletics department, and about student-athletes' classroom experiences. While the majority felt the university did not support its own athletics program, others felt differently. All acknowledge athletics was viewed as simply another extracurricular activity.

Primary Code: Athletics

This primary code encompasses all aspects of the athletics experience at University of Chicago, including the initial recruiting process—if one occurred—the perceived treatment of each sport by the athletic department, and the evolution of sports on campus. All interview participants were drawn to University of Chicago for its academic rigor but more specifically, because of the opportunity afforded to them to be a college athlete at an institution where they

could develop academically. Divergence in responses occurred when participants described the role that sport played in their ultimate decision to attend the University of Chicago. For example, a male basketball player (’00, segment three) remarked: “There’s no way I would have ended up at the University of Chicago if I hadn’t played basketball”. Others offered more detailed accounts of their decision.

> You know, I thought football was fun at that time. So, I kind of wanted to play. I thought it would be fun to be a student athlete, but I knew I wasn’t gonna play at the professional level with any sort of success, you know. It was more kind of— but I wanted to go into medicine. And it was all kind of about just getting— yeah— how to rearrange my life to be able to get into a medical school and stuff like that. Yeah (male, football, ’93, segment one)

A women’s basketball player (’02, segment one) mentioned she was being recruited by several Ivy League schools and attended University of Chicago because it was her safety school. The lynchpin in attending was the offer to play.

> So I was going to do my best to play. That was something that was always kind of a priority for me in college that I wanted to do. So I don’t know if I went back and forth about that decision. Like I was going to find a way to play I guess…So I could tell the team was really close, I liked that. I loved the intensity of the academics and just that it felt like what in my head college was supposed to look like and feel like.

In a similar vein, a female softball player (’07, segment four) indicated:

> It was probably one of the best academic institutions that I had been accepted to. So, it really just kind of made sense—I’d be able to continue to play softball, be close to home, and then get a really solid academic experience…Like they’re bigger schools, bigger

> programs. I don't know if I could have played or even if I were on the team I wouldn't have been able to actively play. So I think this was really the best of both worlds because, you know, we don't go to school to play a sport. We go to get an education.

Some interview participants specifically mentioned the Division III student-athlete model as a catalyst for their attendance.

> And at first, I saw Division III. You know, I wanna play at a higher level. But you know, once I looked into the school and kind of saw the academic prestige of the university and it's in Chicago, I kind of wanted to get out of [hometown]. So, those were kind of the two main reasons, was the academics and the fact that is in Chicago in a big city…I was kind of sold after that and just didn't really care that it is Division III. I wanted it higher. But at that point, everything else was too good to pass up on with the kind of prestige of the school, and the city, and the teammates also (male, basketball, '17, segment four).

A female soccer player ('16) elaborated more in depth, and mentioned her recruiting experience at a Division I institution:

> And it's actually a bit interesting because one of the first [schools] that I went to was [a Division I, private school in the Southeastern Conference] and I remember meeting with the coach and her basically explaining, you know— And this obviously conveys better visually, so you'll have to bear with me. But she said, 'You know, I have to tell you academic comes first.' And she like raised her hand. She's like but athletics comes like right there and she basically like put her hands around the same place. And I think that that was probably the first point that I realized, okay, I definitely want somewhere that has a better balance… And this is where I think that we've— I've played with enough people over the years to realize that there's a lot of people that have D1 offers and they

> choose to go D3 just because it's so much better balance. And I've seen that too like— So, my brother just finished up playing soccer at [Big Ten Institution]. And it's always really interesting because when we talk about our like athletic versus academic experiences, it honestly solidifies going to UChicago every single time, although I am a little jealous sometimes because their athletic facility is amazing. (female, soccer, '16, segment four)

One former member of the softball team ('09) spoke of the general Division III model and was appreciative that University of Chicago adhered to this model:

> And I would also say that Division III in general I think gives you a chance to have that experience a little bit because— I mean, all the coaches put class first, lab first, whatever. If you're not at practice, that's okay. That's the way it works. And I think as a general rule that's how Division III works. I mean, I could think of a few schools we played that that probably wasn't the case. You know, I'm I can think of some of the UW schools probably weren't like that. But you know, as a whole, I think that's how Division III is supposed to be.

However, not everyone was drawn to University of Chicago strictly for the chance to be a Division III athlete. For some, the chance to be a student-athlete was either secondary or coincidental.

A former member of the swim team hit on this theme when discussing her reasons for attending the University of Chicago:

> And I liked the idea of swimming in college, but it wasn't my driving decision for sure. And at that time, you know, Chicago didn't really recruit for swimming. It was like show up and you're on the team basically…for me, it was the academics that drove me to

> Chicago way more than anything else, but it was nice to know that I could do something else as well. (female, ’84, segment five)

Others indicated that they were lightly recruited and ended up joining the team after arrival on campus; “I get did a letter inviting me to stop by and see the coach. So I was flattered to get that. And once I was there, [athletics] became very important. But before I attended, it was not” (male, swimmer, ’92, segment three).

One former swimmer elaborated more in depth:

> And so, for me, I was always like ‘Swimming, this is just something I did because I liked it, I enjoyed it, I liked being on a team.’ Doing varsity athletics wasn't super important to me for the sake of doing varsity athletics. So, I really hadn’t made decision whether I was gonna swim in college or not. So, I get to Chicago. As you know, it's a somewhat intense, academically intense place. And I thought ‘Well, you know, I don't wanna just be doing academics.’ You know, as soon as I walked in, I never talked to the coach before I got there. And you know, I think I saw an ad for the first swim practice. And you know, I went in and talked to him…and I thought like ‘Well, okay.’ And you know, honestly, it wasn’t—I can’t say it was a real considered decision. It was just kind of like ‘Okay. Well, I swam in high school. I guess I could keep swimming in college.’ It seems like a way to meet people. It seems like a way of doing something other than just studying and then it just kind of went on from there. (male, swimming, ’88, segment one)

Another key theme that emerged in this section was the notion that not all sports were treated equally.

> So I think that at every school, the track and cross country programs get ignored because they don’t bring money in and they are not a “sexy sport”. So, yeah, I think that it’s not a

> popular sport; it's not a popular sport, it's not super exciting. Like track, pole vault, stuff like that; those types of events are popular and interesting and fun, but yeah, like it's not exciting. I guess I'll say that it is such as simple sport that people think it is boring… so I don't think that we necessarily got treated the same, especially when the Ratner Center [new athletic center constructed in 2003] opened up, we had to stay over in Henry Crown [the old fieldhouse]. It didn't really make sense, because we were in track and all that. It was one more think that made us feel like we were not a part of the overall university athletic community. (female, cross country, '06, segment four)

A female swimmer ('84, segment five) indicated the differences in treatment were related to gender:

> At the time I was there, [athletics] was a side joke…I don't think they cared much about sports…Again, at almost every university, men's football and basketball gets more attention than female swimming. There's no doubt…Like I said, my one roommate, she played on the female basketball team and they didn't get much either…Like you know, there was definitely a different level. All the female coaches were part time. Just someone they've hired. The men's coaches were full time.

Primary Code: Social Aspects of Athletics

This code, along with its two subcodes, captured dialogue specifically around the role that athletics played in overall campus socialization. It also provided insights into the friend groups that student-athletes formed on campus.

For many student-athletes, athletics provided an outlet for the stresses of University of Chicago's academic rigor. Members of the athletic community also provided solace to one another as a way to buffer what many felt was the harsh climate on campus for students in general.

> The University of Chicago was not the most pleasant place in the world when I was there, you know. It lived up to its reputation of where fun goes to die. The university was working actually very hard at that time trying to get people to attend sporting events or things like that. They would offer the student body free pizzas to go to the football games. So, it was a very not friendly experience at the University of Chicago, but I think that was the normal experience there. And actually, having a tight knit group of people like the football team to do stuff with actually helped break that up a little bit. (male, football, '93, segment seven)

In a similar vein, one male basketball player ('00) expanded this point, revealing that in addition to giving a natural social circle, athletics also provided an outlet for the academic stress.

> And quite honestly, I think basketball really helped me sort of get through that. It's like, you know, sort of that this is the time where I literally have— I can't be studying, or I can't be in dorms, or I can't be in the library. You know, I'm gonna go to practice. Right? You know? And give you that sense of— sort of that sense of community and stuff. I mean, I had plenty of friends who weren't on the basketball team, had nothing to do with athletics. Most of my friends were not on athletic teams or anything like that. So I think basketball really helped in that regard. (segment three)

Despite his weariness to be labeled as a student-athlete, one participant mentioned how athletics helped him the academic demands of the institution:

> And so, basically, any of the tough times that I really, I was kind of going through with all the other guys. So, everything was pretty manageable and you could relate and had that kind of support system. So, you know, there's a lot of tough times as you know going through that school, but everything was pretty manageable. And we had a lot of fun. You know, these guys will be my best friends the rest of my life. So, you know, we've built

> really strong relationships and we just kind of— You know, we made the best of it and we had a lot of fun. Obviously, it wasn't like a state school. So, we just kind of did our own thing and we had a great time. And then obviously, the education was awesome. You know, these are 15 to 20 people classes, you know. It forces you to kind of engage even when you don't want to or you're feeling kind of crappy in the morning. You still have to be a part of the class. And you know, it sucks at that time. But looking back, you learn a lot from that. Really invaluable, so yeah. I wouldn't change a thing. I had a great experience. (basketball, '17, segment four)

One former member of the men's basketball team indicated his athletics circle provided him comfort from the individual nature of his academic work; "…for me, athletics tends to be more of a social engagement, you know, with your teammates and your friends. And oftentimes, academics is you by yourself versus the material, which for someone that's very social like myself can create fear, concerns. And so, you're nervous about things…" ('98, segment seven). Broadly speaking, one former softball player ('09, segment seven) mentioned how she looked to her fellow student-athletes for support:

> And I guess because, like I said, I think it's partly because at Chicago, being an athlete I think is a little bit different only because it's a group that's very separate from the university because if you're not an athlete— The support of athletics typically comes from other athletes. It's not generally coming from the rest of the campus community.

During my interviews, I also asked my participants who they spent most of their social time with and whether these friend groups were comprised mainly of athletes or nonathletes. Their answers varied, and seemingly reflected their own internal identity levels to either that of a student or of an athlete. One former football player commented, "for the most part, I think we all

kind just hung out together because we lived together, you know" ('93, segment one). A former soccer player ('89, segment five) remarked that "I think that most of my nonacademic time was spent so much with like other athletes. I think that's where I ended up making most of my friends and making most of my connections". Along a similar line, one former football player remarked

> You know, most of my friends at the University of Chicago were athletes…for the most part, I hate to say it, the University of Chicago was not the most friendly and open place. So yeah, you didn't meet a lot of people who weren't athletes, but there were a couple of people from the academic classes, but they were people who were often friends with athletes…so you went that way." ('93, segment seven)

A former member of the swim team (female, '84, segment five) mentioned to me she was almost forced into a friend group comprised of solely athletes

> Because the way the schedules work…we related. So, we were the last ones in the cafeteria. There was no accommodation for athletes at all. So that's who we did it with. We literally had to run into the cafeteria after practice…

Others remarked they engaged socially with fellow athletes simply because "athletes were more normal" than nonathletes (female, '09, softball, segment seven) or simply because

> I think just kind of the dynamics that you'll see, most people that were maybe more social and out in settings that I was at tended to be athletes or Greek, but I feel like most Greeks were often athletes. So there was a lot of overlap..(softball, female, '07, segment four)

However, not all athletes answered in this fashion. Friend groups were comprised of "half and half...I mean, it was not exclusively athletes...but maybe half them were. Something like that" (male, swimming, '92, segment three). Another member of the swim team (male, '88, segment

one) indicated his friends groups were separate (athlete v. nonathlete). The overarching finding was that for the athletes that were actively recruited to play varsity sports at University of Chicago—and for whom future athletic participation was a major catalyst for attendance—their social circles were almost entirely comprised of athletes. In contrast, those that attended University of Chicago that were not heavily recruited or "walked on" to a sports team had friend groups comprised of nonathletes or those that lived in their dormitories.

Primary Code: Alumni Giving

This code captured dialogue around giving philanthropy and overall engagement with the University of Chicago, including comments on reasons for giving, remarks on donation designation(s), future perceived relationship with the University of Chicago, and answers to a hypothetical giving scenario I provided them.

There was a ride range of answers to giving related questions. Some former athletes gave while other did not. Some earmarked their gifts specifically to the athletics department while others chose to support the academy. Still others supported both athletics and the academy.

Explanations for not giving ranged from animosity to frustration in the hurdles required to give to athletics. Some expressed anger at simply not being cultivated. "So, it's like 25 years now? [since graduation]. You're the first person in 25 years that has ever called me to ask me how my experience of the school was" (male, football, '93, segment one). This quote is revealing, as it reflects some alumni-athletes' perception that they have been ignored by the development office, something I heard repeatedly during my tenure in the University of Chicago development office. Additionally, a female basketball player ('02, segment one) revealed another issue that I anecdotally encountered in my fundraising interactions with alumni-athletes: a perceived dissuasion from the development office for giving to athletics.

> So I reached out the University and there was no opportunity to… I remember talking to someone who said "*well we can try to direct it toward the athletic department*" and I was just like, that's not good enough. There has to be a better way to direct money coming in the door, because you can get more from it.

Other interview participants also voiced they were not aware that one could give directly to the athletics department.

> I never was really asked for donations from the athletics separately than from just Chicago, you know, University of Chicago directory. So, I've not. And the only thing that I've really seen on the athletic side is the women's athletic association [Women's Varsity Athletic Club] will send mailings and they have events and things like that, but I've never been solicited to donate just for athletics ever at Chicago" (female, '89, soccer, segment five)

For those that gave to athletics, the reasons for giving solely to athletics were twofold: an appreciation for a coach and gratefulness for being giving an opportunity to compete at the college level.

> Because I think that there was— In a sense, there was special treatment. You know, they flew me to some swim meets and I get to see some different parts of the country. And I was given the opportunity to swim, which arguably I was pretty clear I was not qualified to swim in college, but I was allowed to. Yeah. So, I wanna show particular appreciation. And every now and then in college, when I was still swimming in college, an alumnus would give a gift and we might get a new funny swim cap or something like that that somebody donated. So, just try to making things a little bit better for the swim team. And

> the other thing why don't I give to the school itself, I think they have plenty of money. I don't think they're hurting on that (male, swimmer, '92 segment three).

A male basketball player ('00, segment three) indicated:

> My family has not been in a financial position where we could give very much, which is okay. Quite honestly, simply the only reason I do that is because I— quite honestly [the basketball coach] asked me to. And so, I gave. It really helps their program. 'It doesn't matter what you can give. It really helped their program. And can you do it?' And I say, 'Okay.' So, we contribute a really, really small amount every year because I still feel— Like I said, I still feel that connection. I think [he] has done a lot for me as a person. And so, you know, in some small way, if I can help him out, I'm perfectly okay with doing that.

Another men's basketball player ('17 segment 4) indicated:

> I want my money going to kind of the basketball guys, the program, and the athletics department just 'cause I have personal experience with them and I can relate to everything they're going through now and want them to have the kind of experience I had, you know. For Odyssey, I feel like there's plenty of other kind of alumni that can donate to that cause who won't be donating to the athletics department"

Several interview participants remarked that they supported the University of Chicago athletics out of sense of personal responsibility and because it was their belief that they themselves represented a crucial donor base to athletics. "And it's more probably on the alumni and past athletes to continue to support the athletics department because usually it's what it is because of academics, not because of athletics even though that athletics are maybe why a lot of us enjoyed it or why we chose to go there in first place" (female, softball, '07, segment four).

A former softball player ('07 segment 4) similarly offered:

> Whenever I donate, I check the box to send it to the sports or the athletics department, whatever that question is. And I just do that because I feel almost anyone would give to the general fund, but maybe only athletes would specifically give there. I feel like some of my most positive memories that I have from school are from playing softball. So, I'm just giving back to what made me happy as a student."

While some interview participants indicated they felt the institution used it's Division III membership as an excuse to devalue athletics, one former baseball player ('99, segment six) had a different take and stated the only reason he gives to University of Chicago athletics is *because* of its Division III status:

> I would like to believe that [athletics] was given an equal amount of support. I'm not sure that was the case, you know…And so, I've taken full advantage of that when I could, you know, a little here, a little there to donate to different activities on campus. So that's just baseball. Most of it is in baseball, you know, because I know. Yeah. It'd be great to have another L screen or another piece of equipment or something that guys could experience. For this reason. For that reason, though, you know, if Chicago is like they're gonna act like they are D1, see you later. You guys don't need my money.

Still other alumni-athletes have chosen to give to athletics and the academy. A former women's soccer player ('16, segment four) mentioned:

> Yeah. So, in terms of my engagement, probably like two of the biggest things that I have gotten from University of Chicago, you know, one was the education. So, that's why I give back for the Odyssey scholarships [the predominant scholarship program at University of Chicago] that students in the same situation as me will have the same opportunity. The other is really to mentoring current students whether it be athletically

> related or just general body…Like this is the one thing of that. I think, you know, in terms of the way that I see it, it's like unless you just really like sports, you might not necessarily want to give back to the athletic department. Obviously, I'm sure that there is a lot more people out who are like willing to make a donation who did not play any sports, but are willing make like a donation and earmark it for athletics, but I think that probably— and I haven't the statistics, but I'm assuming that most of the athletic donations are actually, you know, either former athletes themselves or relatives to former athletes. You know, like I do think that when you have those people donating to athletics, you know, you might be left inclined to also make a donation to academics especially if most of your friends were on sports teams and things like that. I think that there is a little bit of competition. But for the most part, I honestly think that unless you get people like— and that's why I split mine, is because like most of my experience is really like intrinsically driven by like the 2 aspects. For me, one, I have a hard time choosing between two. If I made a donation for Odyssey scholarship and not the athletic department, then I feel guilty and I guess I could alternate every year, but it's just easier to split it.

The female member of the cross-country team ('06, segment four), who voiced frustration on the lack of resources available for student-athletes indicated she gives solely to the scholarship program,

> because I would not have been able to attend UC (University of Chicago) if I would not have received the financial aid I did…When I'm filling out where I want my money to go I don't ever recall seeing the option for giving towards athletics. I may not have been

paying full attention but I could see that I would say that they are competing [for philanthropy].

Another predominant theme that arose when discussing giving designation—or whether to give at all—was the perception that either one's gift would not make a difference or that University of Chicago simply has no financial need. "It's partly my belief that my giving is a drop in the bucket compared to what other people can give based on what I make" (male, basketball, '98, segment seven). Said another: "University of Chicago, the way I look at it, has so much money that anything I donate is not going to be a significant—You know, they get $100 million dollar donations…" (male, football, '90, segment seven). One member of the swim team who gives solely to athletics mentioned: "And the other thing why I don't give to the school itself, I think the have plenty of money. I don't think they're hurt on that" (male, swimming, '92, segment three).

Answers to my hypothetical $1 million dollar giving scenario reflect the differing views on the motivation for giving as well as rationale for a particular designation. For example, one former basketball reported that "I would give it all to the athletic department" (male, '98, segment seven). In complete contrast, one former swimmer mentioned that "[$1 million] would be too much to give to the swim team" (male, '93, segment three). Similarly, one former member of the soccer team mentioned: "I would feel better giving it to—or maybe even certain departments, but I don't think I would give directly to athletics" (female, '84, segment five). A former member of the soccer team indicated she felt that "there's no need for money in athletics…" and would designate these funds for scholarships and to the humanities program. Most other answers indicated an interest in either the academy or splitting up among different departments.

I'd want to enrich all different areas of the student experience and part of that would be the athletic component. If it was a million $ I may give to the broader aspect of athletics rather than individual team sports I would give to financial aid and scholarships and some of the access initiatives which Univ of Chicago has taken on recently which I think is a really, really important thing. And then I would probably donate to career advancement because that is important thing they are providing, things like internships which are really important to our students. (female, '09, soccer and softball)

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

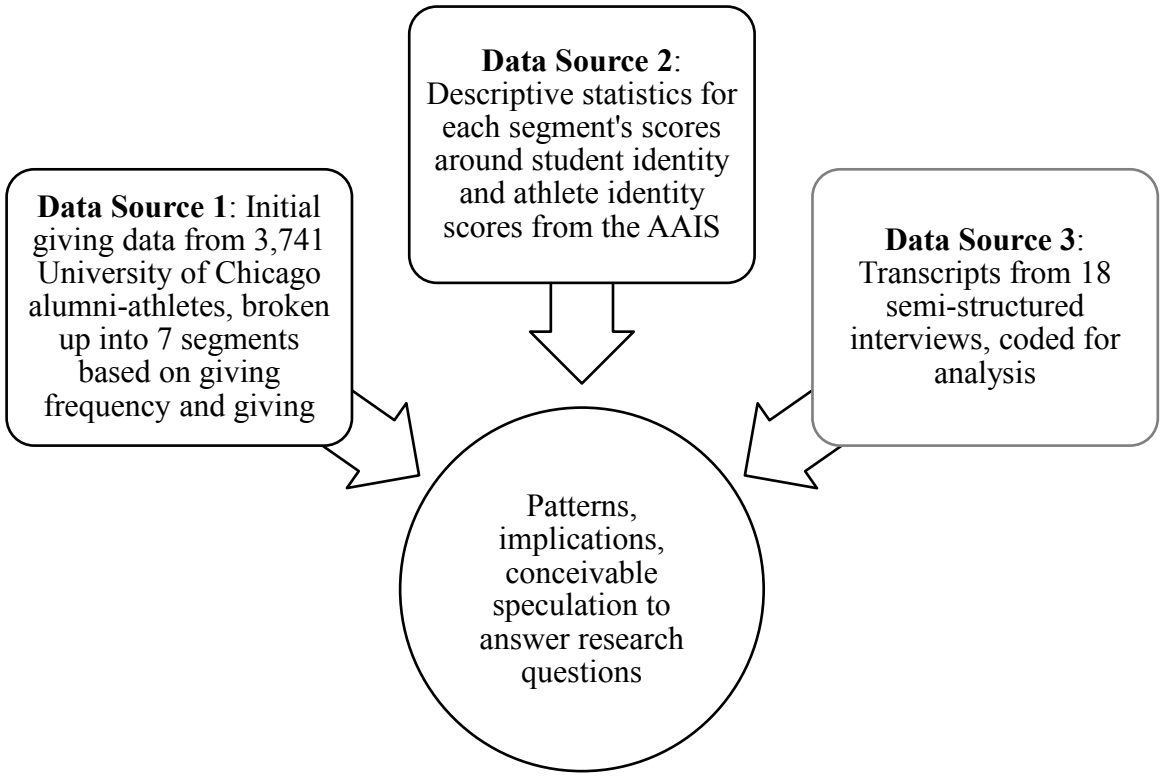
In the previous chapter, I presented the results of my mixed-methods, qualitative dominant study of how the student-athlete identity formation process of University of Chicago alumni-athletes influences their philanthropic behavior towards the the University of Chicago athletic department. The results of the collective interviews provide insights into the overall student-athlete identity formation process at the University of Chicago as well as shed light on motivations for—and designations of—their philanthropy to the University of Chicago. Taken together, they provide answers to the research questions posed in chapter one: How does identity salience pertaining to dual roles as student and athlete influence philanthropic behavior toward the alma mater athletic department? And second, to what extent do student identity and athlete identity influence the motivation of alumni-athletes to give to their alma maters' athletic departments?

While generalizability is not the aim of a bounded case study, this study could provide context for future studies examining the philanthropic patterns from alumni-athletes at other selective institutions. At the very least, it can equip the University of Chicago with some suggestions for how to better cultivate its alumni-athletes. At its deepest level, it can provide some suggestions to the administration and athletics department on how, working in conjunction, they can develop the culture and institutional practices necessary to allow for a harmonious existence and natural adaptability between student and athlete identities, which in turn, may lead to more donations to the athletic department, and most likely, the institution as a whole.

Below is the re-stated visual depiction of my three data sources. I will present discussion points from each of these three data sources and, where appropriate, draw attention to the

relationship of discussion points between and among each data source. I will adopt a similar format used in chapter four and present analysis and discussion around the results of each data source and also discuss the overlap of the ramifications of the results of each data source. Given that this study is a qualitative dominant case study performed with semi-structured interviews, the bulk of discussion will center on the findings from data source three.

Figure 5.1. Re-Listing of Diagram of Interaction Among Data Sources



Discussion from Data Source 1

Re-listed below is the visual depiction of the original data the University of Chicago alumni office provided me.

Figure 5.2. Re-Listing of Original Segmented Data from University of Chicago Alumni Relations and Development Office

Segment Number	Criteria (Designation and Frequency)	Number of Alumni-Athletes	Percentage of Overall Population
1	Never made a gift	392	10.5%
2	Solely Supported Athletics (2 gifts or fewer)	35	.9%
3	Solely Supported Athletics (3 gifts or more)	16	.4%
4	Solely Supported Academy (2 gifts or fewer)	794	21.2%
5	Solely Supported Academy (3 gifts or more)	1577	42.2%
6	Supported Both Academy and Athletics (2 gifts or fewer)	46	1.2%
7	Supported Both Academy and Athletics (3 gifts or more)	881	23.5%

These original figures are telling and depending on the lens, both provide University of Chicago with encouraging information while also revealing opportunities for growth. First, nearly 90% of alumni-athletes have, at one time or another made a gift to some part of University of Chicago (segments two through seven. Additionally, 63% (segments 4,5) have supported the academy. On many levels, this is an encouraging statistic as the overall alumni yearly giving rate is around 37%. While the figures above represent cumulative giving across decades rather than an average of alumni giving in a given year, at the outset, the data suggests, as has other research, that alumni-athletes are high prospective donors (Holmes et al., 2008). To give a sense of how this fits with the general giving patterns of the alumni, the table below presents the overall University of Chicago alumni participation rates over the last decade, broken down by calendar year (L. Hurvitz, personal communication, September 25, 2018).

Figure 5.3. University of Chicago Alumni Participation Rates In Last Decade

Year	Alumni Participation Giving Rate
2007	33.95%
2008	33.69%
2009	30.90%
2010	34.70%
2011	36.61%
2012	40.07%
2013	40.07%
2014	41.25%
2015	41.81%
2016	40.03%

2017	40.64%
2018	39.93%

The initial data, however, also reveals other patterns. Only 1.3% of alumni-athletes solely support the athletics department (segments two, three) while 10% of alumni-athletes have never made a gift (segment one). Just 25% of alumni-athletes are hybrid givers (segments six, seven). (Note, in higher education giving literature, the term "hybrid gift" historically referred to the combination of a planned or deferred give with a current gift (Brown, 2004), in this paper, it will refer to gift or gifts to both the academy and to athletics).

Discussion from Data Source 2

As was reported in chapter four, all segments, except segment four, reported higher student identity scores than athlete identity scores. These scores suggest that University of Chicago student-athletes are committed to their academic success. This fact should not come as a surprise. Few, if any student-athletes, could succeed at University of Chicago without having a strong student identity. What bolsters this finding are the results of my transcribed interviews where nearly every participant remarked that the academic rigor was, in part, a reason for their decision to attend.

These student identity scores may help partially confirm Killeya-Jones' (2005) research indicating that the more student-athletes at selective institutions valued their student role, the "greater convergence between the student and athlete roles" (p. 177). That is, their demonstrated commitment to their student identity could be a reason they were able to successfully balance both student and athlete identities and navigate a climate that was often not supportive of student-athletes. These high student identity averages may explain the high percentage of

alumni-athletes that gave solely to the academy. Recall that nearly all interview participants mentioned they were drawn to the academic experience as a partial reason for their ultimate attendance.

Discussion from Data Source 3

While I was not able to draw any definitive conclusions about directly connecting salience type with giving designation, it seems reasonable to conclude, based on my interviews, that identity salience influences giving behavior in some fashion. Additionally, according to my interview results, University of Chicago alumni-athletes also formed identity salience levels based on what they valued internally and how these values (and identities) meshed with the messages they received from their external environment. This type of identity salience formation process—for the most part—parallels that which is described in the tenets of identity theory literature. As Adler and Adler (1987) noted; "as individuals assessed their relative strengths and weaknesses within given roles, they [accord] higher salience to those in which they were evaluated positively and lower salience to those in which they were negatively evaluated" (p. 452).

The blend of differing salience levels to different identities—combined with the varying responses to the external environment—led ultimately to four main conditions I observed in my interviews. First, some alumni-athletes suggested high identity salience to both their roles as student and athlete and thus, chose to financially support both the academy and the athletics department. Second, some alumni-athletes suggested higher salience to either their student or athlete identity and chose to financially support that corresponding area. Third, some alumni-athletes suggested higher salience to either their student or athlete identity and chose to

financially support the *opposite* area. Fourth, some alumni-athletes suggested high salience to either their athletic or academic salience—or both—and chose not to give at all.

Condition One: High Salience to Both Roles and Giving to Both Areas

Alumni-athletes in this condition, mostly found in segments six and seven, all reported to me a strong commitment to both athletics and academics as well as appreciation for the opportunity to be a varsity athlete at such a prestigious academic institution. All also indicated to me that they felt the institution looked at athletics as simply another form of extracurricular activity. Said a member of the women's soccer team ('16, segment four): "…I think [athletics] is not the primary focus of the institution. It's sort of like a complementary department if that makes sense…it's a slightly glorified RSO" (Registered Student Organization). What was compelling in this condition was either these interview participants took no offense to the way the administration viewed athletics, or they reported feeling completely supported by the institution. Summing up these perceptions, one former football player (segment seven, '93) observed:

> You know, being a student athlete at the University of Chicago was a lot of fun. I mean, I had outstanding teammates. The faculty were certainly supportive of us. Nobody went crazy if you were missing class to go…because you had to do that for travel. And we did travel pretty significant distances. We played in Texas, Pittsburgh, Cleveland. We traveled significant distances to play football. The University of Chicago was not the most pleasant place in the world when I was there, you know. It lived up to its reputation of where fun goes to die. The university was working actually very hard at that time trying to get people to attend sporting events or things like that. They would offer the student body free pizzas to go to the football games. So, it was a very not friendly

> experience at the University of Chicago, but I think that was the normal experience there. And actually, having a tight knit group of people like the football team to do stuff with actually helped break that up a little bit…it's the hardest place I've ever been associated. And you know, there is some good to that, there's some bad to that…

All of the alumni-athletes that fell into this population, except for one, also were actively recruited by University of Chicago to play varsity sports and athletics played a major role in their ultimate attendance. None, but one former volleyball player (female, '77, segment seven), would have attended University of Chicago, had it not been for athletics.

For the alumni-athletes in this condition, identity salience to both their student and athlete identities influenced their giving patterns, specifically to the athletics department. They gave to athletics because they were grateful for, and appreciative of the chance to be a varsity athlete. They also gave because of the positive role that athletics played in allowing them to navigate the often difficult student climate at the University of Chicago as for them, athletics provided a social outlet from the academic stresses. From a financial perspective, they also gave to athletics because of the financial needs present that they observed and a conviction that alumni-athletes represented a crucial giving base for the athletics department.

> I think, you know, in terms of the way that I see it, it's like unless you just really like sports, you might not necessarily want to give back to the athletic department. Obviously, I'm sure that there is a lot more people out who are like willing to make a donation who did not play any sports, but are willing make like a donation and earmark it for athletics, but I think that probably— and I haven't the statistics, but I'm assuming that most of the athletic donations are actually, you know, either former athletes themselves or relatives to former athletes. (female, '16, soccer, segment four)

In my hypothetical giving scenario, nearly all indicated they would continue to support both athletics and the academy. One former volleyball player (’77, segment seven) indicated the university would be wise to increase its public support of athletics, potentially resulting in more support for the institution as a whole:

> Just from some of the news that I have and the fact that the teams are so much more successful. I mean, if you have a lousy— I’m gonna say if you don’t have a lot of support for your athletics, then sometimes it's difficult for the teams to be successful. That was at least my impression. Despite the lack of support, I think that the athletes continue to perform. And so, as a result of their success, I think that— And I could be wrong. I mean, I don’t know of studies that have been done or surveys, but it seems to me that as the students became more successful that I think that the university wisely decided that they should support a variety of athletic interests. And if anything, that would also be helpful as far as the overall willingness of people to contribute to the university overall.

From alumni-athletes in this condition, I drew two reasonable conclusions. First, as mentioned above, the majority of these alumni-athletes were heavily recruited to University of Chicago. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that they possessed existing high levels of salience to their athlete identity, and this salience ultimately influenced their decision to financially support University of Chicago athletics. Second, while all admitted the institution did not address the unique needs of student-athletes, they all nonetheless indicated they felt supported by the institution. This support manifested itself in many ways. In particular, one alumni-athlete mentioned:

> Like I did have a lot of professors and a lot of even like administrators and things like that who actually really admired the whole student athlete, you know— basically what it

> stood for. I mean, the only places where I did feel in terms of— like the institution not fully supporting athletics was definitely just more like budgetary. (female, soccer, ’16, segment four)

One former soccer player and swimmer (’09, segment seven) remarked: “I did feel like my professors were supportive and I felt I had good relationships there. I think that there is a lot of support from athletics but I do think that like University of Chicago could grow that a little bit more…” What these remarks suggest is that the personal connections and touchpoints that alumni-athletes developed with members in the academy may overshadow the reported indifference the administration showed to the athletics department. This seems to suggest that faculty could play a major role in creating an environment that stokes salience to *both* student and athlete identities, thus potentially resulting in financial support to both athletics and the institution.

Condition Two: High Salience to One Identity and Giving to This Corresponding Area

These alumni-athletes, found in segments two, three, four, and five, reported stronger commitments to either their roles as students or as athletes. These commitment levels influenced identity salience, which in turn, according to the interview participants, influenced their ultimate giving patterns. Similar to alumni-athletes in condition one, all indicated that athletics at the University of Chicago were simply another form of extracurricular activity. Capturing this sentiment, one former soccer player (female, ’89, segment five) remarked:

> You know, [athletics] was there, but it wasn’t the primary focus. And even though I did play and we had practices in the offseason, it was not intense. It was, you know, you did it because you’re on the team, but you weren’t expected to be there. So, you know, again, this was a practice building team…

While all indicated that the University of Chicago did not make any special accommodations for its student-athletes, most "thought there was a lot of support actually for building up the athletics division…athletics was on par with other activities students were involved in…but…didn't view it was being treated worse or better necessarily" (female, '89, soccer, segment five). To better understand the alumni-athletes in condition two, I'll present two examples of cases where an alumni-athlete described a strong identity salience towards a particular area and philanthropically supported that same area.

For this former member of the soccer team, her commitment was to her student identity and thus, she has solely supported the academy. Interestingly, she was not recruited and actually tried out for the women's soccer team and her decision to attend University of Chicago was not motivated by the prospect of varsity athletic participation but solely because of the education the University of Chicago provided. She indicated the reason for her giving to solely the academy was simply what the institution stood for and that in my hypothetical giving scenario, she would split the money between the humanities department and student scholarships. Interestingly, she also remarked that "I never was really asked for donations from the athletics separately than just from the University of Chicago…" (female, '89, soccer, segment five).

Alternatively, one former member of the basketball team (male, '00, segment three) stated "There's no way I would have ended up at the University of Chicago if I hadn't played basketball." Basketball was also an outlet; "[it]…was sort of my outlet to just sort of forget about all of that (academics) for several hours a day." He also remarked on the general dynamic between faculty and student-athletes: "I personally never felt like—I never had conflict with professors or anything like that as far as like, you know, some of them sort of looking down on you…if you were an athlete. So, I felt like it was either indifference or people didn't care…"

This individual also gives solely to athletics because he was asked by his coach: "Quite honestly, simply the only reason I do that is because I— quite honestly [the head coach] asked me to. And so, I gave." He also indicated in my hypothetical giving scenario that he would give all of his donation to athletics, basketball in particular.

From these two situations, it seems reasonable to conclude—as was the case in condition one—that those who were actively recruited to the University of Chicago to play sports would, in turn, maintain a strong commitment to their roles as athletes, and therefore, be more inclined to give to athletics. Similarly, in this condition, those that came to the University of Chicago where sports was almost an afterthought logically maintained strong commitment to their student role and in turn, gave to the academy. It is worth noting that neither alumni-athlete discussed in this condition negatively internalized the universally agreed upon belief that University of Chicago athletics were simply viewed as any extracurricular activity.

The comments above also reiterate that preexisting levels of identity salience to either role as a student or athlete influence giving behavior. It seems reasonable that the preexisting levels of salience to either student or athlete role would vary among athletes that came to University of Chicago; thus, this might explain why some alumni-athletes negatively internalized University of Chicago's ostensible indifference to its athletics program while others were not bothered by this factor. Additionally, the comments above provide insights into a more pragmatic aspect of this study. The female soccer player, while by all accounts identifying more as a student, indicated she was unaware that one could give to athletics. The male basketball player, in contrast, candidly remarked the only reason he gave to athletics was because his former coach asked him to. These comments may suggest that one of the primary ways to get alumni-athletes to give to their athletic department is by directly asking them to. In other words,

one could have high levels of salience to their role as an athlete and have every intention to make a gift to athletics as a result. However, if he or she is unaware of how to mechanically make such a gift—or, is told giving to athletics is not possible by the alumni office—he or she will either make a gift to the academy, or not make a gift at all. More will be covered on this topic later in the chapter.

Condition Three: High Salience to One Identity and Giving to the Opposite Area

Interestingly however, there were some alumni-athletes who indicated a certain commitment to either their student or athlete identity but chose to support the *other* area philanthropically. As I did above in Condition Two, I will provide some examples of this finding and provide context and potential explanations.

One former swimmer (male,'92, segment three) indicated to me that "swimming was very important in terms of, you know, social life and structure and, you know, all of that stuff. Not necessarily the level that I was competing at. In terms of the day to day experience, it was important. But certainly, I was not there to swim." Yet this alumni-athlete has chosen to support athletics because of the opportunity he was given.

> Well, I was I guess very positive about the university. Looking back, maybe I'm just starting things a little in a positive sense, but I think I was uniformly positive for the four years. It was more of a challenge. I'm not really sure if it was adjustment or just I don't know what were the— The courses I took maybe were too hard the first year. There were maybe a couple of bumps or things that could have went better academically the first year. But anyway, once I settled in and became a little more goal focused or whatever, I think things went very well. The swimming, the nice part was there was a lot of room for improvement the first year and then it tapered off.

He gives to athletics because "I was given the opportunity to swim, which arguably I was pretty clear I was not qualified to swim in college, but I was allowed to. Yeah. So, I wanna show particular appreciation." Interestingly, he also remarked to me that the reason he does not support the academy is because "I think they have plenty of money. I don't think they're hurting on that." Alternatively, one former member of the cross country team (female, '06, segment four) came to University of Chicago for athletics. "I just kind of new I wanted to probably run and I got a few, a couple of recruiting calls, applied and I didn't think I was going to get in but got in." She was also in a sorority and pointedly mentioned to me she often felt uncomfortable around her teammates; "I didn't really think that I could be myself in front of the track kids because a lot of things that I thought were interesting or fun, something that I valued, they thought that it was silly. They would make fun of me…" She gives to the academy—specifically to financial aid because she would not have been able to attend University of Chicago without aid. She also remarked: "When I'm filling out where I want my money to go I don't ever recall seeing the option for giving towards athletics. I may not have been paying full attention…".

What these two cases suggest is that one's identity salience to a certain role does not necessarily predict future giving to that same area. They also shed light on a theme present across all segments: many alumni-athletes were not aware that giving to University of Chicago athletics was an option. One possible explanation is that the environment and one's surroundings and experiences influence salience to a particular identity, which in turn, influences giving. The former cross country runner mentioned above ('06, female, segment four) came to the University of Chicago mainly for athletics but chose to give to the academy. From her comments, it is reasonable to conclude she does not give to athletics because of the negative interactions she had

with her teammates. Thus, high salience to a particular identity does not necessarily translate into philanthropic support to that same area.

Condition Four: High Salience to One or Both Roles and No Giving to Any Area

Around 10% of the University of Chicago alumni-athlete population—found in segment one—has never made a gift to any part of University of Chicago. In my interviews with alumni-athletes in this segment, two of the three specifically mentioned what an adjustment it was for them to be a varsity athlete at an institution where roughly 25% of the student body was reportedly unaware of the varsity athletics program (Bearak, 2011). One former member of the football team (’93) captured this sentiment:

> I hate that place. I tell everybody if they have kids and they absolutely hate their kids, they should send them there because it's miserable, you know. I didn't like it. You know, it’s funny. You know, I came from a school in Indiana where like everybody friends with the school, you know. It was about 450-470 kids in my class. With the high school, it’s a couple thousand. For the most part, everybody's friends. Everybody in sports teams are friends. Everybody is friendly to each other, you know. The school supports the student-athletes. And you know, it's a fun place to play and be friends with the people. And I thought University of Chicago— It’s all just about singling people out, and how they were different, and how they should identify, and how they’re not like anybody else, and how they should treat everybody else for not being like them. You know, it was just awful. Yeah.

Another member in segment one (female, ’02, basketball) indicated to me it was difficult to adjust to the new reality of being a University of Chicago student-athlete:

> …it was like, you would show up for your Friday night game and you would have like, not very many people there. At least not compared to what I was used to…I remember being in the locker after one of the first handful of games after a pretty embarrassing loss and it was like everything was in slow motion and everyone was like getting their stuff together and in the world where I came from, we would have been unable to move because we just got the loss handed to us. Like if that would have happened in my previous life, I would have been devastated. It was just like, man that sucks, but where are we going for dinner?

Generally speaking, high school athletes have historically enjoyed a sense of popularity, high self-esteem, and social prestige and from their peers (Jacobs, 1989). Thus, transitioning to an academically selective institution which did not place comparable levels of social acceptance or social status on student-athletes was difficult. In this particular case, these athletes negatively internalized the generally agreed upon lack of support for the athletics program. This line of reasoning seems to suggest that while preexisting identity salience to one area could be high—athlete identity in this case—if the environment does not support the development and maintenance of that identity, it seems to influence the decision to give.

The female basketball player (’02, segment two) quoted above also indicated to me she tried to give to athletics but was unable to actually make the gift: “I remember talking to someone who said ‘well we can try to direct it toward the athletic department’ and I was just like, that’s not good enough. There has to be a better way to direct money coming in the door, because you can get more from it.” Her comments shed light on a theme seen in other conditions: giving to athletics may not be as easy as it seems. Secondly, she correctly insinuated that alumni-

athletes represent a crucial—and financially appealing—base for fundraising (Holmes et al., 2008).

Theoretical Discussion

This case study was undertaken because alumni-athletes from academically selective institutions represent a significant source of philanthropy for their alma maters' athletic departments (Plinske, 2000; Wunnava & Lauze, 2001). In many cases, alumni-athletes from academically selective institutions account for the largest part of their athletic department's revenue budget (Holmes et al., 2008). The goal of this study was to determine which factors in the student-athlete identity formation process at academically selective institutions influence giving behavior.

As was present in the four conditions above, it is clear that identity salience influences giving. However, in this qualitative case study, there was no definitive relationship between the type of identity salience(s) and giving designation. Identity salience has been demonstrated to influence giving behavior (Arnett et al., 2003; Lee et al., 1999). The results of this study advance existing literature by elaborating on *how* and *why* identity salience levels to different identities might be formed. It also sheds light on two other areas that, in their own right, deserve further academic inquiry.

First, it was clear that my interview participants came to the University of Chicago with varying degrees of existing salience to their roles as students and as athletes. Athletic identity has been studied in sport literature and stated above, it is yet another component of social identity (Brewer & Cornelius, 2001; Brewer et al., 1993; Nasco & Webb, 2006). Identity salience to the athlete role is often formed at a young age and is "often a more powerful force than other social identities because most elite athletes form these identities early in their lives and this athletic

identity is prevalent across the life span" (Nasco & Webb, 2006, p. 435). One further area of inquiry might then look at preexisting levels of identity salience to either role as student or athlete and gauge how it changes over their time as a student-athlete on campus. Based on my findings, it would seem conceivable that this evolution of identity salience to different roles would likely influence giving. This process was actually communicated to me by a member of segment six.

> The only thing I'd just reinforce again was— you know, since you're talking about identity— is how that identity kind of transitioned over time. I'm a ball player, you know. I'm also going to school here. By the time I left, how that shifted towards "No, I'm a student, I'm a graduate of University of Chicago, and I also played baseball. (male, '99).

Second, while the student-athlete identity formation process is somewhat inherently internal, this study revealed that the external environment played a role in determining salience levels. The following quotations restated from chapter two illustrate this point. In a person's identity hierarchy, "the location of an identity in this hierarchy is a consequence of the support provided by the person as well as by others for the identity, the degree of commitment to and investment in the identity, and the intrinsic and extrinsic gratification associated with the identity" (Stryker & Serpe, 1994, p. 16). Adler and Adler (1987) noted this finding; "as individuals assessed their relative strengths and weaknesses within given roles, they [accord] higher salience to those in which they were evaluated positively and lower salience to those in which they were negatively evaluated" (p. 452). As such, individuals will maintain higher identity salience to those roles where society confers the greatest reward and acceptance.

Through this lens, it seems logical that the external environment would play a role in shaping identity salience. At the University of Chicago, several interview participants remarked

that the institution was not only hostile to athletics, but also did not provide adequate support structures for the student-body as a whole. One member in segment seven (football, ’93) remarked that the University of Chicago was, “by far, the hardest place I’ve ever been associated with”. From an athletics perspective, I heard countless anecdotes about purposefully avoiding one’s athletic status in the classroom, lest they face the *“you’re just a dumb athlete”* perception so many held (female, basketball, ’02, segment one). Granted, not everyone held these views and my study participants reacted differently to the University of Chicago environment. In analyzing my interviews, I found two primary factors that conceivably could account for the variance in alumni-athletes’ response to the campus environment created by the administration’s view of its athletics department: the recruiting process, and their ultimate motivation for attendance.

For some alumni-athletes, they acknowledged that the University of Chicago did not value athletics but they did not internalize any negative feelings nor did they harbor any resentment or anger toward the institution. For others, they deeply internalized animosity and resentment towards the institution. Interestingly, every interview participant that indicated to me a strong sense of resentment and anger from the way that athletics was viewed also reported that they were actively—and strongly—recruited to be a University of Chicago varsity athlete. Moreover, they also indicated that the prospect of being a college athlete was a major role in their decision to attend the University of Chicago.

In contrast, those that were not heavily recruited for athletics and came to the University of Chicago with sports participation as an afterthought harbored little, if any, resentment towards the institution. Thus, it seems reasonable to suggest that these two factors help explain why alumni-athletes responded differently to the the University of Chicago environment, and also why it is difficult to establish definitive connections between identity salience and giving

designations. While salience does seem to influence giving, this study demonstrated that salience may be formed as a result of both internal and external factors and that because of this, salience levels manifest themselves differently in subsequent giving behavior.

My study produced an additional contribution to both student-identity identity literature as well as alumni-athlete giving literature and may help to illuminate why the unique student-athlete identity formation process at academically selective institutions causes them to be high prospective donors. For other groups of student-athletes that have been examined—namely at the Division I level—their student and athlete identities compete in a zero-sum process; that is, the stronger one's athletic identity, the weaker one's academic identity (Adler & Adler, 1987; Lally, 2007; Sturm et al., 2011; Yukhymenko–Lescroart, 2014). Additionally, these athletes often feel that their athletic participation fulfilled their obligation to "give back" and recall feeling alienated from the rest of the student body during their time of participation (O'Neill & Schenke, 2007). It is not surprising that many of these student-athletes identify more strongly as an athlete than as a student. Such research explains why these types of alumni-athletes are often low prospective donors: not only do they avoid giving because they feel like they "gave" during their playing days, but also because they were generally isolated from the rest of campus, they never had the opportunity to develop the necessary salience to their student-identity needed to ultimately catalyze any giving to the academy. Thus, nearly any prospect of giving to either the athletics department or to the academy is essentially eliminated, or at best, significantly reduced.

In contrast, student-athletes at highly selective institutions can maintain dual student-athlete identities and can do so in an adaptive nature (Yopyk & Prentice, 2005). Put differently, the way my interview participants described balancing their student identity and athlete identity was similar to what Yopyk and Prentice (2005) found:

> …student-athletes are sensitive to the *relative* salience of their student and athlete identities…these results reflect the role of adaptiveness in determining the salience of competing identities. Tasks that clearly favor one identity over others may increase the salience of the favored identity. Such a process would enable people to shift rapidly and seamlessly from one identity to another in response to task demands. Indeed, it may be precisely this process that has enabled our student-athlete participants to excel at both academic and athlete pursuits. (pp. 333-334, emphasis added)

This concept was apparent in all of my interviews. Not only did University of Chicago alumni-athletes vividly recall having to actively maintain identity as a student and as an athlete, they also recalled doing so, as Yopyk and Prentice (2005) indicated, seamlessly and rapidly. Granted, there was occasional conflict between student and athlete identities for time, resources, and effort. But what made the student-athlete identity process unique at the University of Chicago was that although these two identities occasionally competed, they did so where salience to one did not come necessarily at the ultimate expense of the other. Said differently, at the University of Chicago, although identities competed with one another, adaptability and harmony was still achieved and maintained between the identities.

As it relates to alumni-athlete giving literature, this finding could be important. Though this study found no direct relationship between identity salience and giving designation, it was clear that identity salience influenced general giving decisions. At academically selective institutions, such at the University of Chicago, the athletic and academic demands placed on these student-athletes necessitate that they maintain such a toggling between student and athlete identities. This belief was confirmed in two of my study's data sources. First, the results from the AAIS in data source two support the belief that student-athletes at these types of institutions have

inherently high levels of student-identity scores. Recall that all segments, save segment four, reported higher student identity scores than athlete identity scores. Second, in data source three, all interview participants indicated that while some had more of a salience to a particular identity, all reported the necessity of performing both in the classroom and on the playing field.

This idea is not only a confirmation of Yopyk and Prentice's (2005) finding regarding the adaptability process of student-athletes at institutions that value the student experience, but also helps explain *why* these types of student-athletes are high prospective donors. Student-athletes from academically selective institutions maintain salience to both student and athlete identities, albeit at different intensities, but the larger point is that salience to these identities inherently exists. From a practical standpoint, it becomes clear why such a dynamic exists. It is fruitful to return to the interview participants' remarks on why they ultimately chose to attend the University of Chicago. Some came to the University of Chicago mostly to play sports—indicating a strong existing level of athlete identity—but also would not have been even initially recruited unless they had ability to also succeed in the classroom, thus also indicating some level of student-identity. In contrast, some came to the University of Chicago to be a student—indicating a strong existing level of student identity—but were also drawn to athletic participation for a variety of reasons. One does not adhere to the demands of intercollegiate athletics—even at the Division III level—without some level of athlete identity. In either case, salience to both identities exists. Even though Adler and Adler (1987) found that salience levels decrease to identities that receive negative external feedback, the fact remains that these student-athletes must maintain baseline levels of each identity to function as a student-athlete at an academically selective institution. And while more research is needed to determine how and why salience levels are formed, it seems reasonable to conclude that alumni-athletes are higher

prospective donors because they are more likely to be connected to *either* part of their undergraduate experience, thus increasing the likelihood that they give.

This study was focused on how identity salience influences giving to one's former athletics department. Given this study's findings, it seems reasonable to conclude that the most straightforward way to increase giving to the athletics department—and to account for all types of student-athletes—is to create environments where student-athletes receive positive external feedback from both the institution—faculty, staff, support structures for student-athletes—and from the athletics department itself. As such, what follows are recommendations I created for the University of Chicago.

Recommendations for University of Chicago

The recommendations that follow are specifically geared for the University of Chicago since it was the source of my bounded case study. At this juncture, it is worth repeating that the results from a qualitative, bounded case study are typically not generalizable. That said, other selective institutions with similar patterns and dynamics could benefit. Other institutions with similar arrangements in their development offices might also benefit from these recommendations, provided they wish to cultivate alumni-athletes as a unique—and highly prospective—set of future donors.

A litany of research exists on how the institution might work with the athletics department to craft particular programs around meeting the unique needs of student-athletes (Broughton & Neyer, 2001; Etzel, 2006; Watt & Moore III, 2001). Often conducted at institutions with major Division I athletic programs, this research typically promotes specific programming or resources around four developmental pillars: academic (tutoring, career counseling), athletic (injury counseling and transition issues), personal and social (athletic

specific values based counseling), and general (coaching and administrative changes (Lottes, 1991). The majority of research suggests that programs or resources either be developed in the athletics department or within the office of student affairs that provide resources specifically aimed at student-athlete welfare (Carodine, Almond, & Gratto, 2001). Authors suggest that orientation services, career and life skills development, and the NCAA sponsored CHAMPS/Life Skills Program (CHallenging Athletes' Minds for Personal Success) be implemented across every institution.

As it relates to this study, this line of literature—and its corresponding suggestions—are not entirely relevant simply because they are aimed at major Division I athletic programs that typically isolate their student-athletes from the rest of the campus population (Comeaux & Harrison, 2011). As mentioned above, major Division I athletic programs often adopt the very same programs offered to the rest of the student body; they are just designed solely for student-athletes. These programs—tutoring, academic advising, nutrition, personal counseling, career services, student-development, etc.—are physically housed in athletics department facilities, employ student-athlete professionals, and are budgeted for by the athletics program. While the aim of these programs is noble, they often promote further isolation from other students (Watt & Moore III, 2001).

At academically selective institutions, student-athletes are deeply embedded in the student-body. At the outset, one can see inherent challenges present for student-athletes at these institutions. Because of the way these institutions view the role of intercollegiate athletics, they pride themselves on treating student-athletes like any other student. Consequently, they purposefully avoid the development of any sort of specific programming aimed at meeting student-athletes' unique needs. Such an approach puts student-athletes at academically selective

institutions in a no-win situation: due to the way their institutions conceptualize athletics, they are offered no support programs designed to address their unique needs; yet they are expected to perform—both academically and athletically—to counter the often negative perception of them by the rest of the student body, professors, and occasionally, the administration. What academically selective institutions require then are unique support systems and structures that exist within the institutional framework but that somehow take into account the unique challenges of student-athletes. What are needed are trained student-affairs professionals that understand the context of life as a student-athlete at an academically selective institution. Watt and Moore III (2001) observed that "student-athletes' experiences can differ based on NCAA Division I level…it is important for student affairs professionals to assess the impact of their institution's division classification" (p. 12). These student affairs professionals play a vital role in meeting the unique needs of student-athletes, as they

> must understand the many that the tension between academics and athletics affects the daily life of student-athletes. Generally, the student athlete is tangible evidence of this tension, reminding both sides of this debate of the essence of their argument. In many cases, it is up to student affairs professionals to illustrate the benefits and requirements of both athletics and academics for the student athlete (Watt & Moore III, 2001, p. 15)

The findings from this study can provide the University of Chicago with recommendations for future implementation. In order to allow a more harmonious existence between student-athlete identities, the following student support programs could employ a trained staff member—housed in their on-campus unit—that could identity with the unique challenges of student-athletes. Alternatively, the institution could design positions housed within their existing units—*not* in athletics—that would act as a dual report to their respective campus

program and to athletics. This practice is not uncommon in many academically selective institutions, and it often characterized as a "50/50" because the salary and reporting structure are split; athletics pays 50% and the other campus unit pays the other 50%. These type of positions allow the continued integration of student-athletes within the student body and encourages them to use existing support programs while also remaining cognizant of student-athletes' unique needs and schedules.

Tutoring

While the University of Chicago prides itself on its academic rigor, the institution could have a dedicated member of its general tutoring team available in the evenings in the Ratner Athletics Center, the site of University of Chicago's athletic offices. Such an endeavor would allows student-athletes to take advantage of existing student support structures that they might not otherwise get to enjoy with their training schedules. The aim of this tutoring is not necessarily directed at improving student-athletes' grades, as its long been a point of pride for the athletics department that the combined average of student-athletes grade point averages are on par, if not slightly higher, than the rest of the student body's. Rather, the aim is to emphasize with student-athlete time demands and practice schedules while allowing them to take advantage of a student support program available to all other students.

Academic Advising

A handful of interview participants commented on the lack of appreciation their academic advisers showed for their unique needs. It would seem feasible to train the academic advising team on the scheduling demands of the student-athletes and recommend courses that are both needed for degree completion but that also align with student-athlete schedules. Such a position could also liaise with the faculty and, at the very least, demonstrate to the student-athletes that

the academic advising team understand their unique needs and schedule demands. The need for this position was also voiced by my interview participants.

> I don't think that there was a lot of peoples that worked for NCAA and like doing Title IX investigations. I think that what they probably should have is student advisor that would cater to athletes could go to if they want to. I never really felt like I could talk with my advisor or anything like that. They did not give any special care or attention to my track or like my travel schedule and when I had to be away from campus so much. I think so and I think that there is a reason why they moved from Division to Division III (female, '06, cross country, segment four)

Student-Counseling

Many large Division I athletic programs employ a full-time sport psychologist. University of Chicago has a prolific student-counseling center located in the heart of campus. With a commitment to overall student-success and to students' mental health and well-being, it would seem reasonable that the University of Chicago could either train or hire a counselor that was either a former student-athlete or that was trained in sports psychology. This particular area is well-suited and well-positioned for a "50/50" job. It also would address what many interview participants felt was an unsupportive culture for student-athletes. A male basketball player (segment three, '00) plainly stated that "looking back…the University can make it tough to balance just being a human being who is in college versus being a University of Chicago student". This position could help in addressing these feelings.

Career Services

Prior to my work in the University of Chicago development office, I worked in University of Chicago's Career Advancement arm and was for the formal liaison to the athletics

department. I saw a significant jump in the number of student-athletes that received internships as well as an increase in the percentage of student-athletes that utilized the career center. Fortunately, when I left this position, Career Advancement hired a replacement and this position remains in place. However, Career Advancement owned the job and the work in athletics was voluntary, despite the job's title. It is my recommendation that athletics department financially invests in this position to increase awareness and visibility of the position to the student-athletes.

Student-Athlete Development

While I was employed at the University of Chicago, I had several conversations with the current Director of Athletics about establishing a student-athlete development program at the University of Chicago. This program would be housed in athletics and would thus be solely an athletics hire. The reason the program never came to fruition was lack of resources. It is worth bearing in the mind that the athletics budget comes wholly from the institution, so the administration would first have to be convinced of this position's merit. It is worth noting that, in November of 2018, University of Chicago hired an assistant to the athletic director who, according to the athletics website, will "organize student-athlete wellness programming and serve as an advisor to the Student-Athlete Advisory Committee." Such a position could promote student-athlete development at University of Chicago while ensuring the student-athletes remain integrated into the University of Chicago campus and can also continue to develop academically.

Improving Relationship Between Athletics and Faculty

While not necessarily inclusive in as a student-affairs related suggestion, there was a clear call from my interview participants for more supportive faculty. Many interview participants included remarks that their coaches would often encourage immediate interaction with faculty members for two primary reasons: first, to make a good first impression, and

second, to let the faculty members know as far in advance as possible of missed classes due to athletic related travel. Indeed, this was the very same advice I was given by both my coaches and fellow teammates upon my arrival to campus in the fall of 2003. While the initial onus falls on the student-athlete, more could be done from a broader level to strengthen the relationship between athletics and the faculty. The athletics director could conduct focus groups with the deans of academic units, for example, to discuss ways for future collaboration. The institution as a whole could also promote athletics at a higher rate. More specifically, it could include athletics on the institution's homepage.

Several interview participants commented on the lack of support from the faculty. A female soccer player and swimmer (segment seven, '09) commented:

> In general I felt supported by the institution, but I think that was coming from the athletic community and that's because I was so closely tied to it. When I look back on it or compare it, like to what I've heard at other places; like at Wash U [conference member] for example, you have the president coming or some of the higher ups, and I don't know if that would have meant anything to me as a student athlete, but there is something to be said for having the full and complete support from different people. I did feel like my professors were supportive I felt I had good relationships there. I think that there is a lot of support around athletics, but I do think that University of Chicago could grow that a little bit more. But I also think that this is part of the history of the school and their athletics. It is so interesting and convoluted that it leads into this mentality now there (female, soccer and swimming, '09, segment seven).

While not exhaustive, the aforementioned list provides some pragmatic—and plausible—ways that University of Chicago might improve its student-athlete experience while remaining

committed to the philosophy that athletics act as but one of many extracurricular activities it offers. Based on interview participant responses, in addition to my own professional work in fundraising—a part of which provided me with an insider view of the the University of Chicago development office—one other area stood out as opportunity to increase alumni-athlete giving to the athletics department: how the development office views, cultivates, and works internally and externally to demonstrate a need for athletics. Below is a list of recommendations and suggestions for the the University of Chicago development office. From a development standpoint, there is room for improvement on how to strengthen the relationship between the development office and the athletics department. There is also an opportunity for the development office—and the institution as a whole—to better market how alumni can support athletics.

Suggestions for The University of Chicago Development Office

The University of Chicago operates a decentralized fundraising office with the following primary fundraising teams: The College (focused on all undergraduate alumni), Booth School of Business, Pritzker School of Medicine, and the Law School. Additionally, there is a Regional Major Gifts team that breaks up portfolios geographically rather than by degree type. Regional offices exist in New York and San Francisco. Other smaller teams focus on specific graduate alumni to with a focus on fundraising for fellowships or specific areas of institutional research. Each of these teams has separate portfolios and separate goals. As such—and in line with most of its peer institutions—the the University of Chicago development office has a decentralized office structure.

To improve the visibility of athletics in the advancement office, the University of Chicago created an assistant athletic director in for development position in 2014, that acts as a

dual report to athletics and to the College team. This position is meant to be the subject matter expert on athletics and to be called in or brought along to meetings with donors interested in supporting athletics. One of the primary objectives of this position was to launch an annual giving fund for athletics. The intended audience for this fund is alumni-athletes and parents of current or former student-athletes. This fund was created in 2015 and is called the "Friends of Maroon Athletics" fund.

While an encouraging development for athletics, the current structure in the development office provides no incentive to fundraising teams to include athletics in their pitch to donors. As is the case with nearly all decentralized fundraising offices, each team is pushing its own fundraising priorities, which dictate their individual goals. Decentralized fundraising offices are notorious for their territorialism and one can see why: each unit is fighting for donors to support its causes. Guzman and Bacevice (2006) discussed the dynamics at play in a decentralized development office with competing priorities. These offices can struggle with too much attention paid to metrics, sole focus on proposal creation, lack of donor centricity, and little incentive for collaboration.

To incentivize collaboration, the University of Chicago opted for a "shared credit" system for fundraisers. In this model, each fundraiser gets "shared credit" for a booked gift that features support to multiple units. In theory, the shared credit system works. In practice, it was my experience that this system and strategy were largely ineffective. The primary reason for this ineffectiveness was that even if a shared credit gift was booked, each department was disappointed that the gift was ultimately halved. Moreover, to receive shared credit for one's individual goals, all the fundraiser had to do was simply get his/her attached to the proposal. Said differently, one could get shared credit for a gift where he/she did very little work. In addition to

incentivizing gift officers to push athletic priorities, one of the additional challenges was simply equipping gift officers with updated information about the athletics department and its giving priorities. Merely getting the platform to educate the development team about athletics often proved challenging.

A real-life example helps illustrate the internal dynamics at play. In addition to its rigorous undergraduate training, the University of Chicago features many top graduate programs, particularly in business and law, and many undergraduates will subsequently enroll in a University of Chicago graduate program. That graduate, now with *two* University of Chicago degrees (let us suppose his/her graduate degree is from the Booth School of Business) goes on to a lucrative professional career, and thus, shows up on the development office's radar as a promising prospect. Which fundraising unit in the development office would get assigned to cover this prospect? The Booth team or the College team? This hypothetical example gets more complicated if this graduate was also a former student-athlete. If the Booth team is given first assignment to the donor, there is no incentive whatsoever for the Booth fundraiser to mention athletic priorities. Even if the College team gets the assignment, there is still little incentive to mention athletics.

As elite private colleges have historically led the way in securing large gifts in higher education, it is even more incumbent that the University of Chicago take into consideration ways to fundraise for all parts of the University, namely athletics, in a way that allows for donor centricity and collaboration in the development office (Weerts & Hudson, 2009). Additionally, many University of Chicago alumni-athletes have achieved financial success. Thomas and Zhang (2005) found that graduates from higher quality institutions typically enjoy a higher rate of earnings during their career. Combining this finding with Clotfelter's (2003) study showing that

the level of alumni donations was strongly associated with income level, should give the the University of Chicago development office optimism about raising money from former student-athletes.

Fitting athletics into this structure has long proved difficult for the alumni relations and development offices, as evidenced by several of the interview participants either indicating barriers to giving to athletics or simply that they did not realize giving to athletics was an option. With these collective challenges in mind, I have listed recommendations for the development office below.

Include athletics as a campaign priority.

In 2014, the University of Chicago launched a fundraising campaign entitled "Inquiry & Impact". Concluding in 2019, the goals are to raise $5 billion dollars and to engage 125,000 alumni. On the campaign website, there are twenty-seven different priorities across all divisions, schools, departments, and institutes. Notably, athletics was not included. This would seem an easy and logical addition to make, and would seemingly resonate with the current Board of Trustees, many of whom were former student-athletes themselves. Including athletics as a campaign priority would also send a visible sign that the institution was serious about cultivating support for athletics. The belief that one cannot give to athletics or that the athletics department does not have need was present in my interviews. One former soccer player (female, '89, segment five) remarked: "I think right now there's no need for money in athletics…"

Create endowed funds for the athletics department.

Significant momentum could be achieved by creating endowed funds for athletics. Because of its Division III status, the University of Chicago cannot offer athletic scholarships, but it could offer endowed funds for athletics use. What would provide the greatest benefit to athletics—and

to the institution as a whole from a budgetary perspective—is to endow both the head and assistant coaching positions for each team. Currently, as mentioned above, the primary focus is on building the Friends of Maroon Athletics fund, which provides the athletics department with unrestricted funds to address immediate and critical need. However, in order to sustain the athletics department and to create opportunities in perpetuity, athletics and the development office should push for creating endowed funds for athletics. Aside from endowing the coaching positions, other funds could endow the following key areas: athletic training positions, wellness programs, career support programs, and facility maintenance. Regardless of designation, endowment fund creation allows institutions not only to sustain activity in a certain area, but also allows the institution to free up funds to other areas while also allowing the institution to more accurately financially forecast for the future (Ehrenberg, 2000).

Hybrid gift requirement.

The advancement office could implement a best practice for its fundraisers that solicitations to alumni-athletes *must* take the form of a hybrid gift; thus a portion of the gift could either go to the Friends of the Maroon Athletics Fund or to a specific sport. Said differently, fundraisers for each unit mentioned above would solicit alumni-athletes for a gift to that unit but also a gift to the athletics department. Other institutions are taking a similar approach to blended giving strategies when soliciting donors for some type of annual gift while also asking for an endowed gift. Such strategies provide donors with a deeper level of engagement across the institution while also addressing immediate needs of areas that line up with a donor's passion point.

Educate student-athletes while on campus about giving.

At the conclusion of our interview, a former member of the women's basketball team (segment two, '00) remarked to me: "I feel like, when you graduate, you are almost immediately

inundated with requests for money. You are told all the reason why they need the money and where the money is going to go but when you're on campus, you are never thinking about those things so maybe there is a way to marry it up? We're not stupid people. Tell me while I'm [on campus]." Her remark is insightful on a number of levels. First, it highlights the need to educate student-athletes about the importance of philanthropy while they are on campus. Many development offices endeavoring to do the same and often employ strategies to link up donors with current students, both for meaningful stewardship but also educate current students about the impact of philanthropy. More indirectly, such a strategy could help on two additional levels. First, it brings an awareness of the self-serving reason for alumni to make an annual gift: it helps improve the institution's ranking. Alumni giving participation rates account for 5% of the *USNWR* rankings. By educating student-athletes about giving *while* they are on campus instead of *after* they have left campus could enhance their incentive to ultimately make a gift. Secondly, it might help stem the tide of decreasing young alumni giving rates. Young alumni giving rates—across nearly every institution type—have dropped in recent years due to a new culture of volunteerism among millennials as well as the belief that local giving carries a greater impact (O'Neil, 2014; Scutari, 2017). Colleges and universities often focus more on larger gifts. As such, though alumni giving rates are down across the board, the amount of money raised has actually increased (Scutari, 2017). To its credit, the University of Chicago employs a member of its Alumni Relations unit that focuses solely on the "Senior Class Gift". The average percentage of seniors that make a gift to this fund is nearly 80%. Yet, there is nearly a 40% drop off the next year for the 1st Year Reunion Giving statistics. To combat a decrease in giving rates among young varsity alumni-athletes, the aforementioned staff member could specifically present to

various athletic teams during the spring academic period and educate them about the importance of making annual gifts to athletics.

Moreover, the University of Chicago is the only NCAA institution with separate student-athlete advisory committee's (SAACs) for its male and female sports teams. The men's association is called "The Order of the C" and the women's is called "The Women's Athletic Association". Each group has a strong alumni network and each one has an annual flagship recognition and networking event with current student-athletes. Yet there is no education on giving and no discussion about how critical these funds are for the sustainability of University of Chicago athletics. It would seem feasible to take advantage of these existing programs—and the strong affiliation seen in these two groups—and dedicate a part of their annual meetings to both recognize those that have made gifts and educate current student-athletes on the importance of such gifts.

Suggested Future Areas of Scholarly Inquiry

The findings from this study help to further inform literature pertaining to identity theory and to increasing knowledge about the multidimensional nature of higher education donors. More specifically, the findings from this study highlight the student-athlete dynamic, both internally and externally, at an academically selective institution. This study helps to illustrate how student-athletes at these types of institutions match their own preexisting high levels of a certain identity with the signals and external feedback they receive from their environment—comprised of fellow teammates, students, faculty, coaches, and administrators—and how they go through a four year journey where it is incumbent that they dedicate a significant amount of time to both school and sport. As such, this study also provides suggestions for how the athletic department—working in conjunction with the institution—can provide a student-athlete

experience that not only addresses the unique needs of the student-athlete in a way that affirms an academically selective institution's philosophy and conceptualization of athletics, but also has the greatest likelihood of producing future benefaction from its alumni-athletes. For these types of schools, alumni-athletes represent a critical donor base. This study also helped elucidate opportunities for research in similar areas.

Research exists on why alumni-athletes choose *not* to give (Shapiro & Giannoulakis, 2009; Shapiro et al., 2010). However, these studies were conducted at major Division I institutions with prominent athletic departments. No study has taken Shapiro's scale and applied it to alumni-athletes from a selective institution. This could be fruitful branch of research given that previous literature documented that alumni-athletes from selective institutions are higher prospective donors than their counterparts from Division I institutions. Determining why alumni-athletes from selective institutions choose not to give could further inform not only how the administration and athletic departments could better partner, but also provide the development office with insights into how to better approach and solicit alumni-athletes.

Previous research has found a link between identity salience and giving (Arnett et al., 2003; Lee et al., 1999). As stated previously, Tsiotsou (2007) noted "donors (alumni and non-alumni) make contributions because they identify themselves with the institution (identity salience) and aim at keeping their bonds or building relationships…" (p. 86). Taking these findings into account, another branch of research could examine how identities change over time and how these changes influence giving. In segment six, a male baseball player ('99) commented on how his identity changed while he was a student-athlete.

> The only thing I'd just reinforce again was— you know, since you're talking about identity— is how that identity kind of transitioned over time. I'm a ball player, you know.

> I'm also going to school here. By the time I left, how that shifted towards 'No, I'm a student, I'm a graduate of University of Chicago, and I also played baseball.'

There are multiple avenues for this research. First, one could examine how student-athletes' identities change during their tenure on campus by having them take the AAIS immediately upon their arrival to campus and then again during their senior year after their exit interview with the athletics department. These findings would shed light on how salience to either the athlete or student identity changed or shifted throughout the years, thus providing administrators, athletic department staff, and the development team with knowledge about how the unique student-athlete identity process at selective institutions works in real-time. Second, one could track how identity salience to roles as student and athlete change as the student-athlete graduates and becomes an alumni-athlete. Taking these results into consideration, the development office could provide engagement opportunities that could help influence the identity that might ultimately lead to a greater likelihood of subsequent gift-giving behavior.

Another line of research could examine what influence athletic success has on the student-athlete identity formation process at academically selective institutions. To date, the results of such studies have been mixed (Bowen & Shulman, 2001; Meserve et al., 2001; Stinson & Howard, 2007). Interestingly, no interview participants in this study commented on how winning may have influenced their giving. Thus, it is worth posing if a more successful program would change the institutional view of athletics. Interestingly, athletic success can bring both positive and negative reaction at selective institutions. Bowen and Shulman (2001) commented that winning is often accompanied by internal scrutiny, as some in the administration might wonder if athletic success originated from lax recruiting standards or if it comes with a decreased focus on academic endeavors. This dynamic puts selective institutions in a no-win situation, pun

intended. The other aspect at play, as Bowen and Shulman (2001) discussed, is that at selective institutions, student-athletes take the place of other admitted students that wish to attend. A school is selective if it has more applicants than it has admissions spots. Thus, for every student-athlete admitted, there is one fewer non-athlete qualified applicant denied admission. One former basketball player in segment seven (’98) pointed this out:

> And I don't think that UChicago looked at— And there's no need to look at athletics as an admissions driver. You know, they're not getting tons and tons of applications because of athletics. They're obviously getting athletes that apply. But if the athletes went away, it's not like their class size would go down and things would change from the admission side. And so, I don't think the institution ever looked at it like we have to be really successful athletically in order to boost the impression of our institution.

Additional research on the influence of winning on the student-athlete identity formation process, and ultimately, on its relationship to future giving would be an insightful addition to the literature. Does winning lead to more giving? Or, paradoxically, to a more hostile environment for student-athletes? If the latter is true, it is conceivable to think such an outcome would lead to negative ramifications for subsequent alumni-athlete giving patterns.

An additional avenue for future research is to replicate this study where the dependent variable is size and amount of gift. In other words, to ask the question, for alumni-athletes at selective institutions, what influence does identity salience to their student-athlete roles play in not only whether—and where—to give, but in *how much* to give. The current study did not take into account gift size. But such a study could be beneficial on a number of fronts. From a student-athlete identity perspective, it could shed light on how identity salience levels to student or athlete roles shape the decision to make a significant gift. Is there a common feature or

connection among those that have made endowment level gifts to their alma mater's athletic department? How can the institution and athletics department work together to create an externally rewarding environment for the necessary identity salience that ultimately shapes and triggers larger, endowment level gifts? Major giving, or endowed level giving, is typically pledged out over a period of 4-6 years and is done using cash, equities, or other assets. Once the fund is completed—and thus fully endowed—it becomes a named fund that exists in perpetuity to whichever designation the donor preferred. Given the ambitious fundraising goals of most institutions, endowment level giving is their lifeblood. What future research could attempt to quantify is how student and athlete identities predict or account for endowed level giving at academically selective institutions. Granted, one cannot make an endowment level gift—which, at the University of Chicago, starts at $100,000—without having the necessary financial resources to do so. However, as Thomas and Zhang (2005) have pointed out, graduates from institutions like the University of Chicago typically enjoy higher levels of financial success.

On a related note, one other key area for future inquiry is to conduct a study with alumni-athletes from selective institutions on how they prefer the development office to approach and solicit them. To date, I know of no literature that has examined this line of research. My own experiences as a gift officer at the University of Chicago is the the motivation for including this suggestion. Some alumni-athletes were angry that the development office pigeonholed them into solely supporting the athletics department while others were upset that their gift officer tried to dissuade them from giving to athletics due to the ostensibly higher needs in the academy. How the development office approaches alumni-athletes requires significant thought and research: if a gift officer appeals only to the athlete identity, he or she runs the risk of ignoring the potential donor's academic abilities and accomplishments; if a gift officer approaches the donor with

solely academic needs, he or she could ignore what could have been the sole reason they came to the selective institution in the first place—to participate in college athletics. How do alumni-athletes from selective institutions like to be viewed by the development office? And are development offices willing to use the findings and dedicate the necessary resources that would allow them to take a donor-centric approach to cultivating and soliciting alumni-athletes? Given that alumni-athletes from selective institutions are high prospective donors, it seems reasonable to conclude such a study is both doable and consequential.

In the giving literature, this study also indirectly sheds light on an additional topic of research: whether the athletics department and the academy compete for the same dollar. This question is particularly relevant at academically selective institutions. Consistent with existing literature on this topic, my interview participants had mixed answers to whether these two areas compete for the same philanthropic dollar (Pine, 2010; Stinson & Howard, 2007). What I personally saw during my employment at the the University of Chicago alumni office was a significant concern in the development office that soliciting high-capacity (wealthy) alumni-athletes for athletic priorities would jeopardize the ability of the institution to raise funds for ostensibly more important academic related projects. A similar dynamic was recently reported at Vanderbilt University where there was a report that athletic fundraisers were purposefully not given access to top donors because of other, more pressing needs at the institution (Seltzer, 2018). The issue at present is:

> there are faculty members across the country who would like to see less money flow to athletics and want more emphasis placed on what they see as the often-overlooked core of the university mission—research and academics. Yet donors want to give for their own priorities, while sports enthusiasts and fund-raisers say giving for athletics and academics

> doesn't have to be mutually exclusive…integration [between the two areas] means making communications, alumni relations, marketing and fund-raising part of a continuum engaging people from the time they consider enrolling as students through the time they graduate and advance in age as alumni…(Seltzer, 2018)

This issue is also salient for academically selective institutions that do not have the resources to operate their own athletic fundraising teams. This begs the question of whether the institution could increase overall philanthropic support by opening up avenues—both internally and externally—for additional support to athletics. Though some interview participants remarked that athletics and the institution competed for the same dollar, many felt they did not. This means it is conceivable an institution could raise more money for athletics, and do so *not* at the expense of the academy's fundraising priorities. In 2017, the University of Chicago raised over $483 million dollars of total production with *one* person in the development office that is dedicated solely to athletics fundraising. It is vital that in an age where institutions of higher learning are competing with other nonprofits for philanthropy that they first do not compete *with themselves*.

Not only could additional research help institutions raise more money overall, but it also could help shed light on the dynamics—both internal and external—needed to create hybrid givers. One could make a convincing case that academically selective institutions that do not offer athletic scholarships are well-positioned to lead the field in creating hybrid donors (those that make an annual gift to athletics and to the academy). More research is needed to determine the factors and specific strategies that would lead to this outcome.

Finally, it would be fruitful to conduct this study at a Division I, highly selective institution, such as an Ivy League school. Even though the University of Chicago and the member institutions of the Ivy League are all highly selective institutions, new research could

discover possible varying responses between Division III and Division I alumni-athletes. While the University of Chicago is an atypical Division III institution, this line of research could also prove useful insofar as determining if the espoused model of Division III—one that promotes the true student-athlete—actually leads to higher giving. Such a study could also shed light on the institutional dynamics at play and the environments that influence identity salience on schools that, on paper, approach athletics with a similar philosophy. Would this study yield the same results if conducted with alumni-athletes from Princeton University? Such research would continue to create dialogue around how athletic departments can work with the administration to create environments that meet the unique needs of student-athletes and provide them with positive external feedback while positioning the athletics department in a way that lines up with these institutions' conceptualization of intercollegiate athletic participation.

Limitations

Reviewing this study's limitations is important for contextualizing the interpretation of the study results and also for applying the many of the future research suggestions noted above.

Survey Limitations

As stated above, I used the Qualtrics survey platform to both design and disseminate the qualitative portion of my study. Roughly two weeks after survey dissemination, I heard from a very small number of participants that they were not able to check more than one box to indicate the sports they played. Unbeknownst to me, the survey only allowed a participant to check one box to indicate one sport. For the very small percentage of dual-sport athletes at the University of Chicago, this presented a challenge. Second, when working with the the University of Chicago alumni office and the athletics department, I enumerated the list of current sports a participant could select from. However, as is the case with most institutions, the list of sports offered has

changed over the years. For example, the University of Chicago used to have a fencing, field hockey, and gymnastics team. I had a handful of older survey respondents informing me that they were not able to select the sport they played.

Additionally, the wide variance in both the number of alumni-athletes that fell into each segment as well as the wide range of respondent figures did not allow for statistical significance comparisons among AAIS scores by segment. These scores—comprising data source two—did however, provide a baseline of comparison among segments that did shed light on the general identity makeup of University of Chicago alumni-athletes.

Segment Four Inconsistency

As discussed in chapter four, three interview participants in segment four spoke anecdotally about their prior support of University of Chicago athletics. Segment four was comprised of University of Chicago alumni-athletes that had supported the academy with two gifts or fewer. There are a number of possible reasons for these discrepancies and these reasons will be highlighted in depth. Devotion of time to this particular inconsistency is important because the potential reasons for this inconsistency possibly unearthed some areas of opportunity for the University of Chicago development office in the areas of gift documentation and communication between athletics fundraising and institutional fundraising.

First, these three individuals in segment four could have made a gift to athletics in the time between when they took the survey and when I interviewed them. The segmented data I received from the University of Chicago Alumni Relations and Development office could not have accounted for this. The issue of the lag time between when the gift was made versus when the gift was actually accounted was revealed to me after receiving my own solicitation emails from the University of Iowa, where I attended graduate school. At the end of the mass email, the

University of Iowa Foundation proactively addressed the potential lag time for this period. The text of the foundation's email is below with particular attention paid to the concluding line:

> *We appreciate your previous support this fiscal year, which has helped our students and faculty further their learning and resources to advance our world. As a new semester approaches, we hope you give again to assist their next endeavors.*
>
> *Make your gift today. Thank you!*
>
> **If your gift and our email crossed, please accept our warmest thanks.*

With an annual alumni participation record hovering around 35%, the University of Chicago gets a significant amount of individual gifts on a daily basis. Thus, it is not unreasonable to conclude that these interview participants could have made a gift to athletics in the interim and this would explain why the University of Chicago's data was not updated accordingly.

Second, and of potentially greater consequence, these individuals could have made gifts to athletics that were not coded correctly in the University of Chicago's giving database. This practice might seem unlikely at a prestigious school like the University of Chicago which raised over $480 million dollars—14th highest nationally—during its last fiscal year (Koenig, 2016). However, it is important to bear in mind that many academically selective institutions—specifically at the Division III level—do not maintain a distinct fundraising team for solely athletics. Said differently, athletic giving at many of these institutions occurs under the wide purview of the institutional advancement office.

In chapter four, I detailed one participants' story about the difficulty she encountered in trying to earmark a gift for athletics and other participants mentioned that they were not aware that a unique fund for athletics support existed. I reached out to my former basketball coach, now in his 20th season as head coach, about this and was told that occasionally, alumni-athletes will

write a check to their former coaches, and then these coaches presumably deposit these contributions into their sport's account. Thus, it would not be surprising if, in this convoluted practice, one's small gift to athletics was not coded correctly, it at all. While such an occurrence might seem nonconsequential, consider the ramifications. First, as mentioned previously, one of the most influential statistics in the *USNWR* rankings criteria is the percentage of alumni that make a gift, regardless of amount. If an alumni-athlete's gift is not entered, this practice would negatively affect donor count. Secondly, at a time where athletic departments, collectively across the country, are raising north of $1 billion, it is imperative that athletic departments—and institutions—be able to correctly acknowledge and steward donors that choose to support athletics, regardless of the amount. Ensuring the accuracy of this process also would allow athletic departments to correctly project to their constituencies the correct number of donors, which in turn, could help galvanize future fundraising efforts and raise awareness of athletics. Raising awareness of athletics—simply at the internal level—could have profound effects at University of Chicago, given the interviewees' general consensus that the institution itself did not outwardly embrace athletics.

Conclusion

As Mael and Ashforth (1992) found, identity influences giving to one's alma mater. The results of this study contributed to literature pertaining to student-athlete development, alumni giving, and identity theory. While the results of this study are inconclusive and do not provide definitive statements about how identity salience levels directly impact giving to one particular area of the institution, they do reinforce the finding that that environment matters, and add that student-athletes at academically selective institutions arrive with existing high identity salience levels to either their student or athlete roles. Further, the results of this study strongly suggests

that the most effective factor in ultimately producing generous alumni-athletes is a collegiate environment that fosters positive, formulation of *both* identities. While not directly examined by this study, its results did identify the importance of strong collaborative relationships between administrators, athletic departments, and development offices, in fostering potential alumni-athlete donors that support both athletics and the academy. Alumni-athletes from selective institutions are not only high prospective donors, but they represent a crucial giving base for their former athletic department. From this case study stems multiple future research questions, both for academicians and practitioners alike.

On a final note, it bears repeating that the University of Chicago athletics department is unique in its history, and that the ramifications—both positive and negative—of this history still trickle down to the institution's modern day student-athletes. A female soccer player and swimmer ('09, segment seven) remarked:

> I didn't really think about the history of the athletic piece, but when I was there, particularly during my senior year and then as an alum, that became so obvious and it seemed to explain a little bit as to why there are these divisions and where some people might get their perception or get their animosity to athletics or whatever, it helps explain it a bit more and helps me to gain more perspective.

I found this quote compelling because it provides a current snapshot of the University of Chicago environment. So what now? A former softball player ('09, segment seven) provided a realistic offering into the likelihood of change, but also offers a key insight into how the institution's current mindset, paradoxically, makes University of Chicago special:

> I think in some ways [athletics] should be acknowledged more because overall the teams are good and they win. You know, it would be nice to get some recognition from the

> university as a whole. I don't know if that will ever happen just because of the general way the student body is. You know, students don't come to football games. They just don't. You know, the people that would be at the football games were the other athletes. So, I don't know if that would ever change. And I'm not sure that there's anything that the administration could do about that. It just has to do with the makeup of the student body I think. And like I said, it would be nice I think to get some kind of recognition from— For women's soccer going to the championship, it would be nice to get— Those kind of things. And the other thing I guess would be it would be nice to get some of the professors out there. Now, again, I'm not sure that's ever gonna happen…I'm not sure that would ever happen and I think that's just partly because of the uniqueness of what University of Chicago is.

The University of Chicago was founded in 1890. Since its inception, it has been known as one of the most strenuous academic institutions in the world. The results of this study certainly will not be sufficient to change 129 years of institutional history. But what this study does reveal is that the University of Chicago—and institutions like it—hold tremendous potential to dramatically influence fundraising from alumni-athletes for their former athletic departments.

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Appendix A

Tentative Interview Questions

Warm Up Questions	1. Why did you choose to attend the University of Chicago? 2. What was the primary driver of your decision to be a Division III student-athlete? 3. Were you considering being a student-athlete at Division I or II institutions? 4. Tell me about your experiences as a University of Chicago student-athlete.
Identity Salience and Student-Athlete Development Questions	1. How important was athletic success to you? 2. How important was academic success? 3. In addition to your athletic participation, what other campus activities did you engage in? 4. What was your proudest accomplishment at the University of Chicago? 5. How satisfied were you with your experience at the University of Chicago? 6. Which do you follow more, athletics news or institutional news? 7. Did you ever feel conflicted in identifying as a student and as an athlete? 8. Did you feel you switched identities in different social contexts? 9. If so, tell me about those social contexts. 10. Did you feel the campus climate and support systems allowed you to identify as a student and as an athlete? 11. Were most of your friends athletes or non-athletes? 12. Did you act differently around these friend groups? 13. Did you feel your identity shifted during the duration of your college exerience? 14. Did you feel like the institution supported the athletics department? 15. Did you feel that all of the teams were treated fairly? 16. Did you live on or off campus? 17. Are you still actively engaged in athletic participation? 18. Do you maintain contact with your former athletics department or teammates? 19. How closely connected do you feel to the University of Chicago and its athletics department? 20. Do you feel that athletic priorities compete with academic priorities? 21. To what extent do you feel like the successes or failures of the University of Chicago and its athletics departments are your own?

Philanthropic Questions	1. As an alumna/us, where do you derive your biggest source of institutional pride? 2. Why did you choose to support the University of Chicago athletics department? 3. Where does the University of Chicago athletics rank in your philanthropic spectrum? 4. Is your giving to the University of Chicago's athletics department based on the success of the programs? 5. Do you intend to continue your support of the University of Chicago athletics department? 6. What do you hope to accomplish with your giving to the University of Chicago? 7. Do you believe more in supporting the academy or supporting athletics? 8. Tell me about how athletics ought to function at the University of Chicago. 9. Do you feel that athletics and the academy compete for the same dollar?

Appendix B

Interview Figures Broken Down by Segment

Segment	**# of alumni-athletes that volunteered for interviews**	**# of interviews conducted**
1	38	3
2	1	0
3	2	2
4	22	4
5	31	3
6	2	1
7	88	5

Appendix C

Sample Email from the University of Chicago Development Office Sent to Alumni-Athletes

From: University of Chicago Alumni Association
Sent: Tuesday, August 22, 2017 4:38 PM
To: University of Chicago Alumni Association <University of Chicagoalumniassociation@University of Chicago.edu>
Subject: Participate in an Athletics Alumni Research Study

Greetings,

We are writing today on behalf of Jesse Meyer, AB'07, to invite you to participate in a research study conducted on University of Chicago alumni-athlete giving behavior. Jesse, a former Maroon basketball player, is a doctoral candidate at the University of Kansas. We hope that you will consider participating in his research. The survey link is below, and should take approximately 5-7 minutes to complete. At the end of the survey, you will have the opportunity to provide your name and contact information to Jesse for a scheduled follow-up interview about your responses. Participation in this survey is voluntary and you may withdraw at any point. More information about Jesse's research is available at the beginning of the survey.

For inquiries about the survey and Jesse's research, you may reach out to him directly at jesse.meyer1@gmail.com or at 402.212.7503. For inquiries regarding the University of Chicago's participation in this research, you may contact me at lhurvitz@University of Chicago.edu or at 773.834.4866.

Survey Link:
https://kansasedu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_2fvqE3H2kSMO5UN

Thank you for your consideration, and Go Maroons!

Lori Hurvitz
Executive Director, Alumni Engagement and Annual Giving

What difference can one idea, one person, one university make?
The University of Chicago Campaign: Inquiry & Impact

Appendix D

Permission Email from AAIS Author To Use Scale

Jesse Meyer

From:	Mariya A. Yukhymenko <yukhym@uic.edu>
Sent:	Thursday, June 30, 2016 4:57 PM
To:	Jesse Meyer
Cc:	mariyay@mail.fresnostate.edu
Subject:	Re: 2014 Article and the AAIS
Attachments:	Academic and Athletic Identity Scale_revised response scale Spring 2016.docx; Yukhymenko (2014) Development of the Academic and Athletic Identity Scale-1.pdf

Dear Jesse,

All items of the scale are included in the manuscript (see tables). I am sending you both the manuscript and the scale with instructions, because I recently revised the response scale. You also have my permission to use the scale for academic purposes only. I would be interested in finding out about your results once you complete your dissertation.

My affiliation changed a year ago, my new email is in the CC field (mariyay@mail.fresnostate.edu).

Sincerely,
Mariya

On Thu, Jun 30, 2016 at 2:05 PM, Jesse Meyer <jameyer@uchicago.edu> wrote:

> Dr. Yukhymenko-Lescroart,
>
> My name is Jesse Meyer and I am a PhD student at the University of Kansas studying Division III Alumni Athlete Philanthropy. I am heavily examining student identity and athlete identity and I came across your 2014 paper entitled "Students and Athletes? Development of the Academic and Athletic Identity Scales (AAIS)"
>
> I really wanted to find out more about your scale. But unless I'm mistaken, a copy of the scale itself was not included in the publication, was it? If not, how could I see the questions on the scale?
>
> Best,
>
> **Jesse Meyer, AB'07**
>
> Associate Director, Class Giving & Reunions

Appendix E

Permission from the University of Chicago Alumni Relations and Development Office to Conduct Study

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Alumni Relations & Development

Damon Cates, MBA'05
Senior Associate Vice President
& Campaign Director
5730 S. Harper Court
Suite 528
Chicago, IL 60615

cates@uchicago.edu
T 773.702.2151

January 12, 2017

I give Jesse Meyer permission to conduct research--both quantitatively and qualitatively--on University of Chicago alumni athletes to explore their philanthropic motivations. The name of Jesse's project is Alumni Athlete Giving at Academically Selective Institutions: An exploratory study on the influence of student-athlete identity on giving behavior to their alma mater's athletics departments. I also give him access to our alumni relations and development data to determine his sample population. Jesse is able to name the University of Chicago as his place of research in his study. This data will be released to Jesse with identifying information so that he can identify donors that fit his sampling criteria.

I understand that Jesse's study is a mixed methods study where he will first conduct a survey that will be sent via email to various University of Chicago alumni athletes that meet certain criteria. Next, the result of this survey will inform his subsequent outreach to specific University of Chicago alumni athletes so that he can conduct qualitative, in-person interviews. For these interviews, I understand each participant will recruited either by phone or email and that Jesse will provide them with a consent form. Subjects can withdrawal at any time should they choose to do so. Jesse will keep his data stored (password secured) only as long as is necessary to finish his study.

Damon Cates

Appendix F

University of Kansas IRB Approval Letter

MOD00015720 has been approved

ecompliance@ku.edu

Tue 12/5/2017 3:44 PM

To: Meyer, Jesse A <jesse.meyer@ku.edu>;

Template:IRB_T_Post-Review_Approved

Notification of Approval

To: Jesse Meyer

Link: MOD00015720

P.I.: Jesse Meyer

Title: Alumni Athlete Giving at Selective Institutions

Description: This submission has been approved. You can access the correspondence letter using the following link:

Correspondence_for_MOD00015720.pdf(0.01)

To review additional details, click the link above to access the project workspace.

eCompliance : Conflict of Interest and Human Subjects Research
KU Lawrence and Edwards campuses
KU Medical Center, Kansas City | **KU School of Medicine, Wichita**
Contact Information for each Campus